

CULTURE AS A FACTOR IN THE MOTIVATION OF HERITAGE SPEAKERS TO
STUDY SPANISH AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL IN SOUTH FLORIDA

By

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This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the candidate's dissertation advisor, Dr. Mendoza, Department of Languages, Linguistics, and Comparative Literature, and has been approved by the members of her supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to understand culture as a factor in the motivation of heritage speakers of Spanish to study Spanish at the college level in South Florida. 59 participants divided into three groups of heritage speakers of Spanish at Florida Atlantic University at Boca Raton participated in a questionnaire survey, for a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses. Subjects were grouped according to the degree of involvement in Spanish-related activities at the college-level. The instrument was a combination of Likert-scale questions as well as open-ended questions aimed at clarifying or expanding on topics presented during the Likert-scale part of the questionnaire.

The findings of this study indicate that most heritage speakers understood culture as a part of their identity. Students who were enrolled in Spanish classes were not just looking to expand their Spanish knowledge, but to re-connect and re-establish links with

their cultural heritage. Finally, those who chose not to study Spanish cite as their most important reason a dislike for the Spanish language.

The results revealed the following implications for the heritage speaker curriculum: the need to address the unique demographic make-up of Spanish heritage speakers in South Florida; the necessity for a consistent and reliable methodology for the identification of heritage speakers, and; the importance of instructors' sensitivity to regional and social dialect variation.

To Paul

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“Consciousness is reflected in a word as the sun in a drop of water. A word relates to consciousness as a living cell relates to a whole organism, as an atom relates to the universe. A word is a microcosm of human consciousness”

Vygotsky, 1986, p. 256.

Does consciousness as discussed by Vygotsky vary depending on the language in which a word is uttered? According to cognitive linguistics (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996) and the experientialist movement (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), people and their culture are continually evidencing what makes them all human as well as unique in their use of the metaphors and constructions that rule a language. In the present study, and as discussed later in this chapter, culture and language are understood as distinct and intrinsically codependent elements of speakers’ identity markers. The study of metaphors in cognitive linguistics proposes that metaphor is how we conceptualize our world. The world is mediated by the interpreter; therefore, our experience has influence on how we understand and categorize information. This view is also the basis for the question that inspired this study: How do heritage speakers see their heritage culture? And does this understanding of culture have some degree of influence on the heritage speakers who pursue further study of their heritage language? Do heritage students primarily want to improve their literacy skills? Or do they also want to pursue the study of the history and culture of the many groups who are speakers of Spanish?

Vygotskian theory, with its principle of learning first with others and subsequent internalization of knowledge, and the anthropological perspective of culture represented in the work of Tomasello (1999) regarding the “ratchet effect” and its significance in the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another, lend themselves to the recurring calls for a revision in the way programs, instructors, and curriculum makers conceive of culture, language, and the needs of heritage speaker students (Crawford-Lange & Lange, 1987; Martínez, 2003; Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996a). Cole & Scribner (1978) surmise this symbolic relationship between learning, language, and culture in their preface to Vygotsky’s *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*:

In stressing the social origins of language and thinking, Vygotsky was following the lead of influential French sociologists, but to our knowledge he was the first modern psychologist to suggest the mechanisms by which culture becomes a part of each person’s nature. (p. 6)

This statement is reflective of a basic principle of the often-repeated and debated relationship between language and culture. A look at Witherspoon work confirms (1980), “we are all aware that any description of a culture system that ignores the native language through which the beliefs and orientations of that culture are most frequently expressed cannot be of much value” (pp. 1-2). Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982) allude to the fact that language is indeed one of the most significant influences on ethnic identity formation and maintenance.

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to understand the role of culture as a potentially significant factor in the decision of a heritage speaker of Spanish to study Spanish at the college level. As stated earlier, special attention is paid to the role of culture as a variable that could be a predictor of a heritage speaker's desire to acquire literacy skills in his/her heritage language. Societal and instructional variables, such as status of Spanish in the community, role and influence of instructors and textbooks, are also examined.

In looking for the possible reasons that prevent heritage speakers from enrolling in Spanish courses, I examine multiple factors that constitute or are closely related to this researcher's working definition of culture. This study's working definition of culture is a dynamic and cyclical process that resides in the activities, behaviors, values, thoughts, and lifestyles of those who share in the instruments or tokens of culture. Culture is a semiotic construct, made evident in many forms, but most significantly, in language choice and use. Among the factors that receive attention in the study are the heritage speakers' experiences in the cultures they belong to, their perception of the status of the cultures in which they hold membership, the opinions of their family and peers, their degree of interaction with the culture of other heritage speakers, etc. The research questions are:

1. What difference is there between heritage speakers of Spanish (HSSP, which includes all heritage speakers of Spanish not currently registered in a Spanish class) and heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) with regards to their opinions on culture and the Spanish language?

1. a Is culture defined in the same terms by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish?
1. b Does a person's perception of the status of the Spanish language influence their intention to further their knowledge of it?
2. Is there a difference in background between heritage speakers of Spanish and heritage students of Spanish?
 2. a What is the importance of friends and family in pursuing the study of Spanish?
 2. b How important are past experiences in the language classroom in predicting HSSP's intentions to continue studying Spanish?
3. What is the role of cultural identity in increasing the enrollment of HSSP in heritage courses?
 - 3.a Do heritage speakers of Spanish see a connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups?
 - 3b.What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision to study Spanish at the university level?
 3. c What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision not to study Spanish at the university level?
4. How is culture understood and represented in the language classroom?
 4. a Is there a correlation between the instructor's opinions and the students' views on language and culture?
 4. b Is syllabus design significant in the understanding of culture by the students?

4. c Do students enjoy the presentation of culture in the textbook?

Significance of the Study

The percentage of heritage speakers of Spanish at FAU is well below those of other universities in the region. FIU had almost 3% of its Hispanic population registered in courses for heritage speakers during the Fall 2007 semester, while FAU (during the same period), had less than a percentage point, or 0.69%, of its Hispanic population enrolled in such courses. Despite the growing percentage of Hispanics at FAU, from 12.5% in 2002 to 17.5% in 2007, the proportion of those who study Spanish has failed to grow accordingly. FAU has had an average enrollment in its courses for heritage speakers of Spanish of 0.66% of students of Hispanic origin in the last six years. It is thus possible to conclude that Hispanic FAU students are merely not interested in exploring, expanding, or establishing links with their Hispanic heritage. To do so would be a great oversimplification, if not actually an erroneous conclusion. As a matter of fact, the Association of Latin American Students (ALAS) meets weekly at the FAU Boca Raton campus. ALAS is a student organization whose objective is “To ensure the promotion and appreciation of the Hispanic culture at FAU and in the community” (Florida Atlantic University Student Development & Activities, 2008). ALAS organizes social and cultural activities to engage as many of its members as possible. What is, then, the reason that Hispanic students, especially those who clearly identify themselves as Hispanic or Latino, choose not to study their heritage language? And what are the reasons that sustain a heritage speaker’s desire to study her heritage language? The role of sociocultural background as a predictor of success in courses for heritage speakers has been studied (Oh & Au, 2005), but no studies have been done on the role of culture as part of

sociocultural background as a motivation for heritage speakers to continue with Spanish studies. An answer to this question would provide language directors, curriculum designers, and, most importantly, language instructors. A better understanding of how to appeal to this segment of FAU demographics and to retain their interest once this interest is engaged.

Extensive research has been conducted on heritage speakers of Spanish in the Southwest (Aparicio, 1993; Fairclough, 2006; Peale, 1991); comparatively few studies have been done in South Florida (Lipski, 1986; Lynch 2000; Porcel, 2006). South Florida is characterized by distinctive linguistic realities in its bilingualism that in many ways set it apart from the linguistic history of the Southwest and from the Hispanic population in the United States in general. According to Colombi & Roca (2003), 66% of the total Hispanic population in the country is of Mexican descent, a figure that is not reflected in South Florida, with a predominantly Caribbean population.

Finally, a better understanding of the second half of the main question presented in the first paragraph of this introduction: “Does this [heritage speakers’] understanding of culture have some degree of influence on the heritage speakers who pursue further study of their heritage language?” As instructors become aware of the differences and similarities between a second language learner and a heritage learner, they can better re-assess better their own readiness to serve these populations with equal levels of excellence and respect. Once language instructors are fully aware of the importance of their role not only in the maintenance of the heritage language but in the facilitation of cultural understanding among Hispanics (as well as between the Hispanic cultural groups and the mainstream culture[s]), these realizations will be reflected in

careful consideration of pedagogical approaches first, and also of other factors such as textbook selection.

Purpose of the Study

The results of this research should contribute to several aspects relevant to the improvement of teaching of courses for heritage speakers:

1. The construction of a better, factually founded, understanding of the demographic makeup of both heritage speakers of Spanish as well as heritage students of Spanish at FAU's Boca Raton campus.
2. Consideration of this study's findings during the periodic and careful evaluation of the heritage speaker courses offered by the language department, and subsequent and possible re-designing of the approach and philosophy behind the heritage language program.
3. Gathering initial data of those three groups of heritage speakers in this study (to be further developed): heritage language speakers (HSS), heritage language students (HSTS), and heritage language speakers participating in university activities that identify them as Hispanics or Latinos (HSSA), but not enrolled in Spanish classes.
4. Proposal of remedial measures to increase enrollment in Spanish heritage classes, such as distribution of information to academic counselors, highlighting the benefits of enrollment in these classes, for example fulfillment of the university-wide language requirement with one semester of a heritage course, instead of two semesters of a second language course.

5. Compilation of heritage speakers' unique perspective on culture and identity, potential data for a longitudinal study.
6. Better understanding of language instructors' perspectives on culture and its role in the classroom and an overall take on their views on the importance of culture, sociocultural understanding, and dialect variation awareness.
7. Elicitation of the heritage speakers' ideas of what goes on in a language classroom.
8. The degree of saliency given to ancillary material, in this case, the textbook, as a vehicle of relevant, current, historical, and cultural knowledge of some of the different groups that are Spanish-speaking.

Definition of Terms

Culture. Culture, its definition and how it is treated depends greatly and, ironically, on the culture of those defining it. In the case of the group(s) of cultural anthropologists, "the concept of culture provides a holistic understanding of the unique integration of all aspects of human life, which can then be applied to particular encounters" (Brody, 2003, p. 40). Lafayette underscores the semiotic nature of culture when he states that "Culture is no longer seen by many as consisting of behaviors or even patterns of behaviors, but has evolved as a concept to mean shared information or knowledge encoded in systems of symbols" (2003, p. 59), a principle shared by many (Smith, Paige, Steglitz, 2003). In this study, we look at how culture is defined by both heritage speakers of Spanish as well as the language instructors of heritage speakers.

My working definition of culture is based on the works of many linguists and anthropologists, best put by Kramsch (1993), "a large part of what we call culture is a

social construct, the product of self and other perceptions” (p. 205). Culture to me is not just products, such as food, music, or folklore. Culture is not a static set of artifacts but a dynamic and cyclical process that resides in the activities, behaviors, values, lives and knowledge of those who share in these instruments or tokens of culture. The working definition of culture will be that of an ongoing semiotic construct, made evident in language choice and use, as well as certain socially shared elements, such as customs, practices, beliefs, and assumptions about the co-constructed world of the participants in the observed cultural group.

Sociocultural theory. This theory is generally linked to the work of Vygotsky (Wertsch, del Rio & Alvarez, 2003) and subsequently to the work of Lantolf, Donato, & Brooks (Mitchell, Myles, 1998). Sociocultural theory is usually employed as a term to indicate a general approach to the understanding of human nature (psychology, anthropology, linguistics, etc). According to Wertsch et al. the goal of sociocultural theory is to explain the relationships between “human mental functioning” and the “cultural, institutional, and historical learning in which functioning occurs” (p. 3). Sociocultural (Vygotskian) theory predicates that language learning has to be viewed primarily in social terms (Mitchell & Myles, 1998). Mitchell & Myles surmise the main pillars of sociocultural theory:

1. Learning, any and all learning, is *first* social and *then* individual.
2. The process of learning is first inter-mental and intra-mental. Inter-mental refers to thinking, reasoning, in two stages, first between people (inter-mental) and then within a person (intra-mental).

3. Learners are not only active participants, but they construct and shape their learning environment.
4. A significant part of the studies are process-driven, and the focus is not the description of these processes. The reasons why things are the way they are, when studied by sociocultural thinkers, are not the most pressing questions to be explored.

In conclusion, sociocultural theory sees learning as a primarily social process, based on human interaction.

Among one of the most salient concepts that have arisen from sociocultural theory, framed by Vygotskian thought, is mediation. Mediation is a reflection of the understanding within sociocultural theory that “humans have access to the world only indirectly, or mediately, rather than directly or immediately” (Wertsch et al. 2003, p. 21). Therefore, the attention is on the tools that mediate the world, language being the “prime symbolic tool available for the mediation of mental activity” (Mitchell & Myles, 1998, p. 145). Based on this principle of mediation, many have concluded that while language does not shape our mental processes or cultural development per se (Wertsch et al.), there is a link between language and thought: “cultural, historical activities shaped and continue to shape perception, action, and indeed, consciousness” (Olson, 2003, p. 95). This knowledge of a connection between language and thought is not exclusive to those who work within sociocultural theory, as evidenced by experientialism.

Experientialism. This concept was put forth by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and is grounded in their general presentation of a model for study of language and the human mind. According to Lakoff & Johnson, objectivism considers thought as abstract and

transcendent, rational. Objectivism presents reason as atomistic in that it is composed of many parts that make a greater whole concept; it is disembodied. In objectivism categories are fixed and defined by necessary and sufficient features. The same authors discuss subjectivism and conclude that for most of our everyday practical activities, we rely on our senses and develop intuitions that we can trust. The most important things in our lives are our feelings. Art and poetry transcend rationality and objectivity and put us in touch with the more important reality of our feelings and emotions. We gain awareness through imagination rather than reason. After reviewing objectivism and subjectivism, Lakoff & Johnson propose a third alternative to these incomplete perspectives: experientialism.

Experientialism posits that metaphor is how we conceptualize our world. The world is mediated by the interpreter; therefore, our experience has influence in how we interpret and categorize information. Due to this inclusion of experience in the study of languages, we find that all languages can express concepts in different ways based on our shared bodily experiences. For instance, the choices to express future tense come from a pool of possibilities, and the manner in which we express it will vary. Another example is how languages code motion events, some languages code motion and manner together, others, path and motion (Talmy, 1998). Some (Malmkjær, 1991c) have seen experientialism as an extreme form of constructivism (linguistic determinism); however, experientialism looks at how we evaluate nature instead of being bound and determined by nature.

Dialectal variation. Wardhaugh's (1986) discussion on languages, dialects, and varieties lays the basis for the discussion of dialectal variation. He first points out the

inadequacy of the arbitrary distinction between language and dialect, as the term dialect only indicates subordination to a language; therefore, we have many dialects of a single language. No one speaks a language per se, as it is an abstraction. We all speak the realization of a language, we use dialects. According to Wardhaugh (p. 30), the problem arises when most ordinary people use the term “dialect” as synonym for a local, non-prestigious variety of a “real language”, not realizing that every member of a society, any society, speaks a dialect of a language. A dialect is not only identified by geographical location but also by social status; thus, we have geographical as well as social dialects. This discussion of dialectal varieties is picked up in the research done in heritage studies.

As early as 1978, Valdés-Fallis was already addressing the dialectal differences between the varieties heard in the language classroom among students and the one used by the language instructor. She concludes that many heritage students of Spanish in the United States speak rural or other non-prestigious dialects of Spanish, not unlike “thousands of school children in Latin America” (p. 103). Unlike these children, heritage speakers of Spanish are not exposed to standard varieties of Spanish early in life. When compounded with a well-documented lack of preparation on the part of language instructors to appropriately and respectfully address these variations in the language classroom (Lynch, 2003), heritage speakers of Spanish can be faced with a difficult and challenging undertaking when they decide to pursue studies in their heritage language.

Heritage language. Kondo-Brown (2003), as well as Wiley (2001) and Valdes (2005) agree that there is no common definition of heritage language (HL), as it depends on the perspective of the author. Moreover, there are other terms already in use, such as ethnic or minority languages (Valdés, 2000b). From a pedagogical perspective, the term

HL is usually linked to immigrant or indigenous (and endangered) languages, To illustrate, Merino, Trueba, and Samaniego (1993) use the term “home language” when referring to what is today widely called heritage language, indicating that it is the language spoken at home, and not in the community at large.

Heritage language speaker. The definitions of this concept are many, and most contain a part of what the present study defines as a heritage speaker. For some (Draper & Hicks, 2000), a heritage speaker is a person who can speak their first language, which is not English, in the home. This definition is true, but incomplete, as there are heritage speakers of a language who are passive bilinguals; they understand the language but do not use it often or at all. Another aspect that defines a heritage language speaker is a characteristic lack of range or registers. Achugar (2003) addresses this observed feature among heritage speakers. There has been no lack of discussions about a correct and unified definition of this term. Valdés (2001) is right when she states that speakers of a heritage language have a personal connection to the language, but, as a defining characteristic, it is too broad a feature. While there still remains some disagreement, for pedagogical purposes, heritage speakers are those who grow up in contact with the heritage language, and not just descend from the heritage culture, as may be the case with English monolingual third generation German-Americans, learning German as a foreign language.

Heritage language learner/student. Many researchers agree that the widely used term “heritage language student” is rather new to the language education field (Colombi & Roca, 2003; Valdés, 2000a; Webb & Miller, 2000). Valdés provides a definition of the term: “a student of language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is

spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (2000a, p.1). The place of acquisition of the heritage language is almost always the home of the speakers. The home is a crucial and shared characteristic when classifying a language has heritage, especially for educational purposes. Kloss (1998) establishes that the community where this home is placed bears the lion share of the duty of maintenance of the heritage language. The earlier definition provided by Valdés (2000a) is adopted for this study.

The phrase “heritage language learner (or student)” is a relative new comer to the language studies field, and still shows variations in its definition, depending on the context of study in which it is being defined. Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) explains, that according to Draper and Hicks (2000), other labels for the term heritage speaker are still accepted, such as “native speakers, bilingual, and home background [speaker]” (p. 19); and Valdés (1995) contributed the terms “quasi native-speakers” and “residual speakers” (p. 306).

Overview of Study

This dissertation is divided into the following sections: The introduction presents the purpose and significance of the study. It ponders a possible correlation between heritage language speakers of Spanish’s conceptualization of the term culture and their likelihood of taking Spanish courses. It also includes a list of the research questions that shaped this investigation. Finally, there is a presentation of some of the most used concepts throughout the presentation and discussion of data.

Chapter two reviews the relevant literature on language and culture as well as studies done in the field of heritage languages, in particular in Spanish as a heritage

language. The discussion of culture is anchored in the discussion of the relation of culture language and culture as well as thought. There is a brief incursion into anthropology and its contributions to the discussion on culture. This discussion is then linked to research done in language pedagogy. Subsequently, attention is paid to developments in heritage language (HL) studies, especially Spanish as a foreign language. There is also a discussion of the benefits of language maintenance as well as the challenges for those heritage speakers who choose to study their HL. Finally, there is a brief overview of the role of language instructors in creating and maintaining a healthy level of motivation among these HL learners.

Chapter three contains the design of the study. The purpose of the research is restated, then, procedures adopted for the study are discussed, followed by a brief presentation of heritage languages in South Florida. Next, the population of subjects is identified and described. The rationale for the statistical analyses adopted is also presented. Procedures for participant selection, instrument development, and data analysis approach are explained.

Chapter four contains the research findings. In general, all participant heritage speakers understood culture as a part of identity, an understanding more closely related to the hearthstone definition of culture. Those who had not sought out activities on campus related to their heritage language and culture also thought that culture could be just as well defined by the fine arts. Considering the fine arts as the main representation of culture is known as the Olympian definition of culture, which could be considered an incomplete and elitist view of culture. Another significant finding is that those who enroll in Spanish classes are not just looking to expand their knowledge of Spanish but to re-

connect and re-establish links they might not have considered as strong beforehand. Those in heritage courses had a large percentage of English-monolingual parents and friends than the other participating groups. Finally, those who chose not to study Spanish cite their most important reason as dislike for the Spanish language.

The last chapter, number five, discusses the limitations of the study, presents recommendations for future research, and examines possible implications for theory and language instruction.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Culture

Introduction

Although we have long been intrigued by the nature of the relationship between language and thought, as well as language and culture, we are yet to reach common ground on the answers to these questions (Brown, Copi, Dulaney, Frankena, Henle & Stevenson, 1959; Jourdan & Tuite, 2006; Pinker, 1994; Tomasello, 1999). These three elements, language, thought (mind), and culture are linked by a common element: Meaning (Kövecses, 2006). It is through language, thought, and culture that we co-construct meaning (Leavitt, 2006). What makes this more remarkable is the fact that these functions that constitute a semiotic system are the parts and the whole, as discussed by Joseph (2004), Ungerer & Schmid (1996) and, Vygotsky (1986). The argument presented by these authors is that language can be culture, thought can be language and that these three elements (language, mind, and culture), united by the shared feature of meaning can mutually define one of the other elements in this triad. The discussion on how these three elements are related has become ever so refined, and in some instances, rather polarized. There are strong arguments for almost every known opinion on the significance of language, thought, and culture, ranging from extreme opposites to many compromises in philosophical postures that attempt to bridge the differences between those firmly planted on opposite sides of the argument.

Brief Historical Overview of the Concepts of Language and Culture

Many linguists (Kövecses, 2006; Kramsch, 1993; Vygotsky, 1986) have seen the impossibility of dissecting the parts from the whole in a clear fashion when it comes to studying, describing, and understanding the individual and the world she inhabits. The importance of this endeavor has been made patent in linguistics through theorists such as Freire (2001), Kövecses (2005), and Leontyev (1981). This reality is invariably linked to the surrounding environment: the community. The discordance in views on language, thought, and culture surfaces when working with a set of considerations on language, individual, and culture: How much does language determine who we are? Do we shape language? And if so, how? What is the role played by our community in defining our speech and our group identity, if any? What are the effects of bilingualism on identity? Dörnyei illustrates part of the issue by talking about language:

Language is at the same time: (a) a communication coding system that can be taught as a school subject; (b) an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities; and also (c) the most important channel of social organization embedded in the culture of the community where it is used (p. 118).

While much remains to be said regarding these questions, we must first examine what has been said, before stating the adopted perspective of this work.

In discussing the delineation of the elements that make up an individual's identity, some have arrived at the conclusion that factors observed as external, such as culture, have very little to do with who we are. Pinker (1994) presents language as understood by cognitive scientists, describing it as "a psychological faculty, a mental organ, a neural system, and a computational module" (p. 5). Under this perspective, there is no link

between culture and language, as they are irremediable different in nature, having in common only the speaker, sharing no other characteristics or elements. For Pinker and others (Pullum, 1991), language is but an instinctual development, determined from before birth and shaped by those around the newly born speaker/individual. Culture is not seen as fulfilling a similar function of biological development; language and culture are not intrinsically linked or hold a shared origin. Culture and language do not interact in ways that mutually shape each other, because they have no common ancestor in the human biological make-up.

In “The Human Adaptation for Culture,” Tomasello (1999) presents an alternative view to this argument. He claims that culture, like language, is also the result of our membership in the *Homo sapiens* species, hence it is part of who we are, biologically. A significant evolutionary event somewhere between 2 to 0.3 million years ago brought about a series of changes in who we are, and how we learn and transmit knowledge (Tomasello, 1999). A new form of cognition, social cognition, came about and initiated a process of socio-cultural transmission that allowed for “a ratchet-effect in which human beings not only pooled their cognitive resources contemporaneously, they also built on one another’s cognitive inventions over time” (Tomasello, 1999, p. 526). It is through the social constitution of human cognition that we construct our culture. Tomasello establishes that each child adopts, through a variety of techniques, the cumulative cultural knowledge and way of understanding her surroundings: “each new generation of children develops in the ‘ontogenetic niche’ characteristic of its culture” (1999, p. 512). Tomasello’s work proposes that children are specifically adapted to acquire the cultural

knowledge and experiences of all the generations before him and a very short period of time. Most of the cultural learning happens pre-puberty.

In Tomasello's work there is no imperative to see language and culture as separate events, the external and internal counterparts of an entity, barely interacting with each other. Tomasello describes how a genetic change, which changed the nature of primate social cognition, gives rise to a series of events that changed who we are today, creating most of the defining characteristics of human cognition. After this evolutionary change in human cognition, cultural evolution becomes possible and *Homo Sapiens* has been capable of quickly distinguishing herself from all other species. Tomasello's work skillfully brings arguments from anthropology, as well as psychology, and puts forth a stronger, more complete theory of human cognition that boasts a multidisciplinary basis.

Tomasello links his theory to the work of another psychologist, Lev Vygotsky and his work with the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), other-regulation and scaffolding. Vygotsky is recognized as the founding force behind several current theories of language study. Activity theory and sociocultural studies are two of the most explored fields of linguistic research influenced by Vygotskian thought. Sociocultural theory sees learning as a primarily social process, based on human interaction. Interaction is also significant in the learners' experience, Wells (2000) explains:

Transformation of participants occurs as a function of participation in activities that have real meaning and purpose; learning is not simply the acquisition of isolated skills or items of information, but involves the whole person and contributes to the formation of individual identity. (p. 61)

Just as Tomasello made connections between his work and Vygotsky's, Vygotsky made reference to Sapir's work in his *Thought and Language* (1986), in order to advance his own views on semantics. According to Vygotsky, a word meaning is not the mere union of thought and speech, as has been believed since Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1983). Despite never reading Saussure's work, Vygotsky appeared to anticipate the conclusion presented in Saussure's work before such compilation was even known to the world, and fortuitously presented an alternative answer. In accordance to Sapir's postulates, Vygotsky predicated that a word meaning is more than that, it is "a union of generalization and communication, of thought and communication" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 9). The missing element in Saussurean semiotic theory is explained in the purpose of language. The role of language is crucial because it acts "as a cognitive tool to process and manage meaning making; as a social tool to communicate with others" (Swain, Brooks and Tocalli-Beller, 2002, p. 172). Vygotskian theory added the social aspect to the construction of meaning.

Vygotsky's work has been used in many fields, and second language acquisition (SLA) is no exception. One of the tenets of sociocultural theory is that the primary goal of education is to provide an environment for learners to participate in meaningful activities and, in the process, "learn to use cultural tools and practices that have been developed to mediate the achievement of the goals of the activities" (Wells, 1999, p. 304). This goal of acculturation of the individual seamlessly lends itself for a theory of language acquisition framed by Vygotskian thought.

Proposing a different understanding of the issue at hand, Echeverría (2003) explains that looking at our reality as a separation from truth and opinion is in fact an old

and spent perspective. Echeverría advocates abandoning the philosophically Cartesian way of approaching questions and instead puts forth a perspective based on Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Wittgenstein's work. According to Echeverría, language, and not reason, is at the center of all of our questions. In Echeverría's work language is a generative, dynamic, reality-creating element that distinguishes us as humans. If we take language as a generative process, then the question of culture and language as a dyad of external and internal elements, as treated by Pinker and others, disappears due to the capacity of the language to co-construct realities, both internal and external.

On another side of the spectrum of the debate on language and culture, we find supporters of a strong view of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which holds the idea that language strongly shapes or determines thought (linguistic determinism). The Sapir – Whorf theory has two main tenets: (a) experience is structured by categories based on linguistic knowledge and (b) these linguistic categories are social conventions arbitrary in nature. This perspective is diametrically opposed to Pinker's work. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis maintains the position that speakers of different languages think differently (linguistic relativism) because they use different languages. This view is not widely held; instead, a weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is supported. In this weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis language influences, instead of determining, thought. This incorporation of the Sapir-Whorf work in its weaker version into the general discussion of thought and language is an illustration of bridging the differences among theorists.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis came about in the 1950's, and it eventually was displaced by some followers of the Chomskian revolution who embraced Chomsky's

argument of language as part of our biological make-up and not the result of imitation (Behaviorism). These Chomskian thinkers were part of a movement that developed into an all-encompassing perspective, relegating culture and environment to an afterthought in linguistic studies. As a balancing counter argument, the weaker version of linguistic determinism and relativism has recently gained strength through works coming from fields as diverse as cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Turner, 1996), second language acquisition (Kramsch, 1998), semantics (Wierzbicka, 1992), psychology (Vygotsky, 1986), anthropology (Tomasello, 1999, Leavitt, 2006), cultural linguistics (Palmer, 1984), and sociocultural theory (Lantolf, 2000).

In the case of cognitive linguistics, the point of linguistic relativism is driven home with the proposal of a new model for the study of human cognition: Experientialism. According to Lakoff and Johnson, “understanding emerges from interaction, from constant negotiation with the environment and other people” (1980, p. 230). Language, as our main means of understanding our reality, has a strong connection to our surroundings and how we interact with the world and the people in our community.

In cognitive linguistics, one of the fields that tends to accept the weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf theory, culture is presented as a series of frames that underlie people’s behavior (Kövecses, 2006). Frame theory was introduced by Charles Fillmore as “an alternative to checklist theories of meaning” (1975), and its definition has undergone several revisions. Fillmore redefined frame theory in 1985, stating that frames are “specific unified frameworks of knowledge, or coherent schematizations of experience” (as cited in Ungerer & Schmid, 1996, p. 209). This characterization was later revised in 1992 by Fillmore, stating what is meant by frames: “cognitive structures...knowledge of

which is presupposed for the concepts encoded for the words” (Ungerer, & Schmid, 1996, p. 209). The main idea behind frames as a semantic concept is that no single word can be understood in a void. Words can only be understood when within or against a frame, for example, marriage can only be understood when we, in western culture, also bring to mind the frame in which marriage works. In marriage we find several participants, a ceremony, a person of authority performing such ceremony, special costumes, usually accompanied by food, music, etc. In order to have complete knowledge of the word marriage, the highlighted frame must be complete in our knowledge.

Frames (or domains) are structured around periodic experiences, rituals, such as buying, working, and eating. When dealing with frames, perspective is also significant, as the same event of working is seen differently, depending on the person’s role and vantage point in the frame, employer, employee, the IRS, etc. The same event can, and will be, described differently, in accordance to each participant and observer’s perspective. Every speaker categorizes and organizes experience on the basis of the frames that exist in a particular culture (Kövecses, 2006). Lakoff (1987) worked with frames, referring to them as idealized cognitive models, ICM’s, and brought attention to the fact that frames are composed of parts, and these parts can be understood as metonymies. Metonymy is a cognitive process that enables us to understand a concept in terms of another, related, concept. In metonymy, both concepts belong to the same frame; for example, in “The White House denied any knowledge of the transaction,” the White House is a place that is used to represent the institution; the two elements are in the same frame, one (The White House) used to understand or refer to the other (the Administration).

The companion to the concept of metonymy is metaphor. If metonymy is a cognitive process that allows us to understand a concept in terms of another, metaphor does the same, only the participating elements are not from the same frame. Metaphor is a very productive device humans have for categorizing and understanding our reality. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) presented TIME IS MONEY as a prototypical example of metaphor. Fulfilling the conditions for a metaphor, the first term (time) is conceptualized in terms of the second one (money), which is why we have such expressions as spend time, waste time, buy time, etc. A metaphor is used to explain an abstract concept in terms of a more concrete idea. In working with frames, metaphors, and other cognitive process, like metonymy, we can gain a tremendous tool for the understanding of culture and its significance in our mind and language, and ultimately, culture's influential role in who we are and the stereotypes and prejudices that are at work in our adopted interpretations of our world.

Within the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, the case of bilingual speakers is fascinating, as they operate with parallel sets of metaphors in their cognitive mapping. Pao, Wong, and Teuben-Rowe (1997) discuss the limbo-like state of mixed heritage people. Starting with the requirement that the person must "pick a side", as there are no labels or names for those of mixed heritage; according to Pao et al., the child must select an identity, usually that of the minority parent. This forced identification is evidently problematic in the construction of self and community that a person undertakes. As language continues to be understood as a decisive marker of group membership, the lack of attention paid to the growing numbers of mixed heritage children in this country is compounding dangerously, as Pao et al. explain "language is also one of the major

influences on identity formation in mixed-heritage individuals” (1997, p. 623). Pao et al. support abandoning dichotomous approaches, in favor of multidimensional models of thought and understanding:

Just as race is not stable but contested, identity is multiple and contested. Linear models of social relations have formed the basis for many psychological theories about racially mixed persons. The monoracial and monocultural bias of these theories is evident in assimilation and acculturation models, which suggest that a mixed-heritage person must choose between the communities of the parents and assimilate into only one. p. (623)

Language and culture can only be understood when studied from more than one discipline. Witherspoon warns against relying only on anthropology or exclusively on linguistics in order to understand this interlinked pair. One must see “the culture in language and the language in culture” (Witherspoon, 1980, p. 1). Another source of valuable contributions to the discussion on culture is Bhabha’s (1994) work on postcolonial studies. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha treats culture as a negotiated entity, the sum of the group’s several identifiers, race, class, gender, etc., and the shared collective experiences of the community. This same dynamic can be observed in a language classroom, where all participants are constantly negotiating their roles, identities in the classroom. The cosmos found in a language classroom is conducive to the creation of identities in this heritage/second/foreign language; soon a specific culture is born for the classroom community. In this view, there is no conflict with my own perspective on the role of culture in our own constructed identities as discussed by Bhabha; his work captures the dynamics at work in the heritage language classroom.

In this work, I support the weaker version of linguistic determinism (linguistic relativism), which supports a direct relationship between language and thought and their mutual influence. This idea is not in conflict with Vygotskian theory or the work being published in cognitive linguistics. Many language researchers adhere to Vygotskian views, as stated by Malmkjær (1991b), “Some measure of influence of this theory [Vygotskian theory] can be perceived in all linguistic programmes which make claims about the influence of language on people’s perception of an aspect of ‘reality’” (p. 307). Witherspoon (1980) expertly summarizes the argument with the belief that language cannot be studied in an aseptic laboratory, but it must be understood in its immersion within the cultural framework in which language exists, as cognitive linguistics has demonstrated.

The conversation on who we are and what the basic elements of humanity are is well served by Vygotskian theory, anthropology and sociology, as well as biology. Ignoring any of these in favor of a mere few is akin to understanding human experience as a list of facts and dates.

Definition of Culture

Like language, culture is another of those elusive terms of a chameleonic nature. Everyone seems to know what these terms mean, yet no one has a universally applicable definition for either. Underscoring the argument at hand, in her introductory work, *Language and culture*, Kramsch (1998) includes a glossary; interestingly enough, language and culture are not defined in the glossary, despite being the title of her work. The characterization given to culture varies according to the discipline that utilizes such term. To illustrate: for some, culture can be seen as a cosmogony –a world view; for

others, it can also be viewed as a semiotic construction: the symbol-mediated way in which we make sense of the world, and, finally, culture is also seen by some as a synonym for what is ordinarily viewed as a refined or highly stylized collection of the elite products of a group, like art and literature. In another example of how elusive the definition of culture is, Chavez (2002) agrees with Ludwig (1983) on the definition of culture that states that it is shaped by elements as varied as the language being studied.

The shifting nature of the views on culture is epitomized by the fact that culture is shaped and defined according to the scope and purpose of the research and the researcher. Halliday (1978) illustrates this crux by presenting culture (social reality) as a semiotic construct, “language is one of the semiotic systems that constitute a culture” (p. 2), defining culture as a permeating and constitutive feature in language. Kramsch (1993) presents an example of work that looks at culture from the perspective of a language researcher interested primarily in the formal (in-classroom) aspects of language learning. The anthropologist Henry Trueba summarizes the issue at hand in his “Culture and language: The ethnographic approach to the study of learning environments” (1993): “Culture and language are so intrinsically intertwined that even trained scholars find it impossible to decide where language ends and culture begins” (p. 27).

As stated earlier in chapter one, my working definition of culture is very much in agreement with the one provided by Kramsch (1993), “a large part of what we call culture is a social construct, the product of self and other perceptions” (p. 205). Culture, to me, is not just products, such as food, music, or folklore. Culture is not a static set of artifacts but a dynamic and cyclical process that resides in the activities, behaviors, values, and lives of those who share in these instruments or tokens of culture. The

working definition of culture will be that of an ongoing semiotic construct, made evident in language choice and use, as well as certain socially shared elements, such as customs, practices, beliefs and assumptions about the co-constructed world of the participants in the observed cultural group.

Definition of culture for language teaching purposes. There are countless publications on culture and language teaching. Many of the articles and books examined for this work follow a common principle: They start discussing how culture is much more than it has been made out to be throughout the years, and, then, they present a list of steps to follow in order to redress the situation. Alternatively, they present one or many techniques that would be conducive to the teaching of culture in the classroom (Crawford-Lange, & Lange, 1987; Genc, B., & Bada, E., 2005; Herron, C., Dubreil, S., Corrie, C., & Cole, S., 2002; Koop, 1991; Langer, 1996; Moore, 1996; Strasheim, 1981; Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996a; Schulz, R. A., 2001). In these works, the discussion of what culture stands for is consistently glossed over or simply not addressed. This is potential evidence for a lack of debate about what culture means; instead, language teachers are skipping ahead to how to teach culture, possibly with an understanding of culture that may need to be further reflected upon. The evidence points to most teachers looking for the how and skipping the what.

The new Foreign Language Standards underscores the importance of incorporating culture into the language curriculum (*Standards*, 1996). In explaining the importance of culture in language learning, this document states that students “cannot truly master the language until they have also mastered the cultural contexts in which the language occurs” (*Standards*, 1996, p. 3). The *Standards* enumerates a list of five crucial

elements: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities. Their significance in language learning is explained; however the *Standards* acknowledges, very cogently, that this work is not a faithful reflection of the state of teaching but more a guide to a better future. In this document, culture is no longer dealt with as an abstract concept; it is not a singular entity but its realization in many cultures, as many as there are communities with diverse ways of life. The *Standards* assumes a perspective based more on anthropological views on culture, as it refers to cultures as ‘practices’, ‘attitudes’, ‘patterns of behavior’, and ‘perspectives’. In this same document we find ‘products’, such as a painting, a literary piece, or a specific food utensil, yet they are not presented as the primary source of culture, but in their relationship to their reflection of the culture’s perspective.

The *Standards* illustrates a shift away from the much mulled over dyad of Culture and culture. Omaggio Hadley (2001) explains that, until the 1960’s, it was common to believe that culture was a term applied exclusively to great works of art, such as paintings or sculptures. This type of understanding of culture is called Olympian culture or “big C” culture. Such an elitist perspective has been largely abandoned in current trends of culture in language teaching in favor of a concept based more on practices and beliefs; this second type of culture is also known as “little c” or hearthstone culture (Omaggio Hadley, 2001). In hearthstone culture, the focus is on everyday life.

The long running discussion on the need for a more integrated perspective of culture as a product to be taught (Lee, 1997) has now been largely settled. This argument’s conclusion is based heavily on culture’s anthropological definition (Crawford-Lange & Lange, 1987). While the desired focus is to remain in a more

anthropological understanding of culture, culture as a reflection of the arts, literature, music, and history still has a place in the current language curriculum, as Allen (1985) illustrates. Yet, the question remains: What are we bringing into the discussion when we talk about culture? Are we beginning the conversation from a set of shared assumptions? How can a person's idea of culture be adapted to include a more integrative model? Is culture a matter of personal understanding, relatively impervious to change, despite being presented with evidence that challenges these beliefs, whatever they might be? What is the place of culture in the language classroom? Is it another area of language to cover, as is grammar or pronunciation, or is it an ever present element in the classroom?

In *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* (1993), Kramsch argues that teaching language and culture as separate entities is a grave misconception, and declared that if “language is seen as social practice, culture becomes the very core of language teaching. Cultural awareness must then be viewed both as enabling language proficiency and as being the outcome of reflection on language proficiency” (p. 8). Linguistic competence has been defined in Saville-Troike (2003) as “the total set of knowledge and skills which speakers bring into a situation” (p. 12). It is remarkable that by adopting this definition of linguistic competence, we find it very challenging to come upon elements that are not directly or tangentially related to culture and the concept of self.

This debate on language and culture has been developing for decades now, with Seelye (1984) settling the discussion in favor of integration and not juxtaposition. Seelye (1984) explains that “without a cultural context, a word has no meaning” (p. 5). Instead of looking at culture as one more ingredient to be checked in a long list of skills to develop, culture should be understood not as a component, but as a process (Crawford-

Lange & Lange, 1987) that is developed in parallel to language understanding, as the students advance in the language class.

Seelye (1984) outlines a perspective on culture and language that is largely reflected in the *Standards* (1996) and in many recent works (Omaggio Hadley, 2001; a, & Tuite, 2003; Kramersch, 1993; Lange & Paige, 2003) that advocate a similar view of culture as a process, not just an item in a laundry list of to do's for the teacher. This process of learning about a second culture allows the learner, given the appropriate guidance on the part of the instructor, to become a critical thinker. Kramersch (1993) argues that the student as a potential critical thinker should be the desired outcome in a language classroom. The opposite would be to encourage the students to blindly and passively adopt another persona with no possibility for exploration or understanding at a deeper level other than just adopted behavior (which can easily result in thoughtless mimicry). In critically dealing with the target culture, learners will make connections to their own culture and potentially examine their own culture as well, understanding it as a one of many possible organizations of realities among communities.

Kramersch (1993) puts forth the existence of a third culture, not the learner's native culture or the target language's culture, but the one that originates in the reality of the language classroom:

In fact, what is at stake is the creation, in and through the classroom, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the learners and the social environment of the L2 native speakers, but a third culture in its own right. (p.9)

She proposes that learning a language is learning to articulate a person's personal and social voice. In order to do so, the socialization process must take place at the same time the learner is experiencing the grammar and phonology of a language, among other things.

Definition of culture by language teachers .Language teachers are burdened with the responsibility of translating the developing theoretical debate on culture into the realities of the classroom. Teachers also need to enable students to engage and understand the target culture, no small feat. The consensus is that teachers need more preparation, guidance, and support in order to arrive at a more nuanced and comprehensive appreciation of culture for teaching purposes (Salaberry & Lafford, 2006). Seelye (1984) emphasizes this issue, stating that teachers can be insecure about their own mastery of culture of the target language. Seelye assured the reader that the teacher's role is not to be an encyclopedic source of information; instead, teachers should concentrate on procuring the students with the skills needed to critically understand and accept the facts and cosmos that students encounter in the classroom experience. Similarly, before students can grasp the reasons motivating the practices and beliefs in the target culture, they must be able to take an introspective look at their own culture, their own attitudes, motivating factors and observed behavior (Kramsch, 1983). Accordingly, teachers need to be ready to facilitate this process.

Even when teachers are confident on their knowledge accrued on culture, their conception of culture might be inconsistent with what is recommended that students get acquainted with, in terms of the target culture. Strasheim (1981) calls for a ten-year plan that should first equip teachers with a comprehensive approach to the teaching of culture

in the language classroom. Likewise, Crawford-Lange and Lange (1987) warn against teachers lunging into hurriedly incorporating culture in the classroom, whatever culture may mean to these teachers. Instead, they propose ways of implementing culture, the what, how, and when of culture.

Clearly, this classroom dynamic is to take place after teachers have been advised on a more anthropological perspective of culture. Kramersch (1993) goes on to include students, as well as teachers, in their lack of perspective of culture and language, “beyond the structures they use, teachers and learners are often not aware of the cultural nature of their discourse” (p 43). Kramersch (1993) echoes the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in asserting that it is ultimately critical to understand the metaphors that organize the cultures that are coming in contact as a significant result of learning a second language:

We have to commit ourselves to a set of metaphors, but we have to remain aware that these metaphors are the very culture we live by and that in other educational cultures people might live by other metaphors. The difficulty — and the perils of cross-cultural understanding — stem precisely from trying to express one metaphor in the language of another and to judge the pedagogic effectiveness of one in terms of the other. (p. 184)

Finally, Kramersch (1993) brings attention to the role of the textbook in potentially influencing the teacher’s convictions on what constitutes culture. It is the teacher’s duty to “be an intercessor for the textbook” (Kramersch, 1993, p. 85) and empower the students to interpret linguistic forms into their appropriate context. The role the teacher and students assign to the text is at the crux of what either of them understands and accepts as culture. It is the teacher’s burden to decide how much of the syllabus will rely on the

design of the textbook and how to mediate and complement, if needed, the contents of the book for the learners.

Definition of culture by language students. In current publications (Koop, 1991; Ludwig, 1983; Martin & Laurie, 1993) that take a look at students and culture, we find the long-perpetuated division of language as a four skill approach and culture as a separate issue of language. We cite Martin and Laurie (1993) as an illustration of the typical way in which culture is understood today by researchers, and in turn, presented to students via their language teachers. Martin and Laurie's research seeks to get students' feedback on the meaning of literature *and* culture as tools to develop the four language skills. In their questionnaires culture and literature are treated as elements that may or may not contribute to the real purpose of language courses: the development of hearing, speaking, reading, and writing as the four core skills. Students' responses seem to indicate that they see culture as a slightly more helpful tool than literature. The format of the study is reaffirming or planting the idea in the students that culture is an ancillary element to language. In this research, students are presented with several aspects of culture from the more antiquated distinction of "C" and "c" culture. The intention of the study is to contrast the program's goals with the students' goals for language learning. Unsurprisingly, the study underscored the reality of the disconnect between the instructor as a representative of the program and the student and their objectives in the classroom. This study also, inadvertently, reinforces our claim that culture has been for too long presented as a secondary, less critical element of language learning, and it is seen as such by both teachers and students.

Robinson-Stuart and Nocon (1996b) summarize the views of students as the result of language pedagogy during the last 50 years; pedagogy in the classroom is characterized by a strong focus on the four language skills. According to Robinson-Stuart and Nocon, students indicate a trend to treat language separately from the people that speak the target language. Robinson-Stuart and Nocon go on to demonstrate that these views can be rectified with a change of teaching approach on the part of the language instructors.

Chavez (2002) expands the discussion to point out that students bring their conceptions of language learning and culture from high school, leaving it to the instructor at the college /university level to make the necessary adjustments that would be more cohesive with current understanding of culture in language and language in culture, without removing the aspects of language/culture learning that motivated the students to continue their linguistic studies. A list of three main student complaints is presented in Chavez: (a) Teaching culture is done at the expense of learning real language matters, such as grammar; (b) Teaching culture in the classroom becomes a desultory attempt, due to lack of time or experience or both on the part of the teacher; and (c) Teaching culture is highly influenced by politically correct views determined by an elite. The students were unhappy about these facts and they expressed the ease with which they recognized them, aided at times, by comments or attitudes of the teachers themselves.

In a work related to culture, Schulz (2001) explains the cultural differences in student and teacher perceptions in regards to corrective feedback in grammar instruction. This study points out that both Colombian and American students and teachers see grammar as a crucial element to be learned and practiced in order to master the target

language. In Schulz we find only one main cultural difference: the degree of acceleration in the learning process to which grammar is perceived to contribute. Colombians in general have considerably much more faith in grammar than their American counterparts. According to Schulz, students, Colombian and American, tend to respond in blocks, as do teachers, making their nationality and cultural background secondary to the roles they play in the classroom. This is the culture of the classroom that Kramersch (1993) makes constant reference to in her work and which is above geographic boundaries; the separation between teachers and students is much more evident in this research than the difference in their nationality. I believe that by gaining a better understanding of the culture of language learning and the participants would be conducive to a more adequate approach to language/culture teaching.

In Genc and Bada (2005) we find a new perspective, instead of a language course, the students took a culture course. The learners were studying English in Turkey and were asked about their linguistic progress after completing the culture course. All students reported improvements in all four skills, thus demonstrating the significance of culture as a linguistic vehicle of knowledge for them. Additionally, Genc and Bada show a positive change of attitude towards the target culture (75% of the students), as well as a deeper understanding of one's own culture. In works like this one, we can appreciate how dependent the understanding of culture is on the format in which it is presented. Genc and Bada also demonstrate that students can be influenced to change and revise their views of self and others through the awareness brought by linguistic/cultural studies.

Based on the research presented, students have been quick to adopt the views of the teacher, text, and language program they are in contact with. This fact is a hopeful

one, as more and more language departments adopt a more anthropological perspective on language/cultural teaching. Students are aware of their surroundings, and this sense of awareness can be influential on their cosmogony. So far, students have largely adopted the perspective of language and culture presented to them as a dyad of language *and* culture. We propose that, by the same token, students can also adopt an opposite view; the newly proposed idea of culture *is* language *is* culture, as long as they are given the chance to explore this perspective. Much can be done to instill in language learners the significance of introspection combined with intercultural understanding and acceptance.

Effects of Teaching on Perspectives of Culture

Due to the many realities of formal instruction, such as time, setting, testing, accessibility to realia, etc., culture can get packaged into a product that may be very conducive to stereotypes. Robinson (1981) zeroes in on the idea that people, children in her study's case, tend to focus initially in the perceived differences between their group and other groups, and once these differences are identified, they tend to be generalized and augmented. In her article, Robinson recommends first bringing attention to similarities, in order to prepare learners to see the target culture as something different, not inferior or superior.

Nocon (1995) illustrates how language learners can easily separate the speakers from the target language, as is the case of Spanish in border areas in the U.S. The students of these English dominant universities had positive attitudes of a more removed, distant group of Spanish speakers, this positive attitude quickly dissipated when asked about Mexican and Mexican-American speakers of Spanish. Despairingly, language teaching has not addressed the stereotypes and negative attitudes assigned to certain

groups, due perhaps in part to political correctness (some language teachers are concerned about even bringing up issues that might be conflictive or divisive), lack of time, lack of interest in addressing controversial issues, especially at beginning levels, or because the teachers are under pressure to achieve certain academic goals that take precedence over any other possible objective. By leaving such topics unaddressed, the language learners are allowed and perhaps reassured of their set perceptions (stereotypes) of the speakers of the target culture.

Pomerantz (2002) speaks about the particular situation of the Spanish language in this country. Spanish as a foreign language is promoted as a viable and desirable language to acquire, given the numerous advantages, economic and otherwise, it brings to those who speak it. On the other hand, Spanish as a marker of heritage is discouraged and suppressed; it is a sign of stigma and lack of socioeconomic advantage. Heritage speakers of Spanish are encouraged to become acculturated, while promoting the spread of Spanish only as a foreign language. This contradiction will be addressed later in this chapter.

Kramersch (1993) brings our attention to the multifaceted nature of culture, despite its continued presentation as a homogeneous concept. Part of the question is, then, what parts of culture should be presented to learners. The answer must be in the departure of the long used method of memorization of facts and dates (a limited set of knowledge), towards an approach that allows students to understand that there are as many representations of the target culture as there are speakers of it. An appropriate attitude that displaces that of a limited set of knowledge is asking ourselves what is needed to understand and respect the target culture. In Bateman (2002) we find a very telling

reported comment, made by a student of Spanish: “I always had a stereotyping image, because of [our textbooks], that all Spanish-speaking people were very religious, and that isn’t true.” (p. 326). Such feedback from students is evidence for a call for change.

Students are willing to take a multidimensional perspective of the speakers from the target culture. It is now incumbent on the teacher, textbooks, and programs to present these students with a richer, more complex perspective on people from the target culture.

Students will place more relevance on aspects of language in which they are tested on. The current teaching system places considerable weight on grades, which come mainly from tests. If the students do not see culture as a testable item of their performance at a significant percentage, they will rightly conclude that their language instructors do not see cultural understanding as a measurable or significant aspect of language learning; thus, rendering culture an insignificant aspect of the language classroom. Kramsch (2003) admonishes that it is also important to re-evaluate the aspects of culture students are being evaluated on, as testing students on factual information conveys the sense that culture is indeed a list of facts. Valette (1986) suggests that a reliable indicator of the students’ attitudes about the testability of culture in tests should indicate their overall opinion on culture in general and not merely the target culture of the target language. Chavez (2002) reports in her research that only 31% of first year students and 38% of second year students believed that culture was testable or should be tested. This opinion may very well be a reflection of the current beliefs of language programs and editors, as well as teachers.

The integration of technology has sustained a long debate on its significance in aiding students to gain exposure to the target culture and its speakers. There are many

supporters (Muyskens, 1994; Shrum & Glisam, 2000) as well as detractors (Chun & Plass, 2000; Just & Carpenter, 1992). The fact remains that technology can be a powerful tool to help students approach the target culture. Technology, in the form of internet access, videos, and television, embodies all the positive and negative aspects of teaching aids, and magnifies their impact. Students cannot be asked to simply surf the web, lacking any structure or well defined objective. Teachers must be careful not to overload the students with too much too soon. Similarly, when carefully planned, activities that use technology can be the closest experience to visiting a target culture that some students may ever get to appreciate. With technology we can see how culture is the sum of every individual who embodies it, but we can also just expose the students to more and more lists of factoids and truncated pictures of the reality of the target culture.

Chavez (2002) advises about three areas that must be addressed by language teachers: (a) A more coherent sequence in teaching culture must be followed, (b) The scope of cultural knowledge to be presented, (c) The relationship between language and culture. These recommendations are presented by Chavez after examining the responses given by language students to a questionnaire. Independently of what culture is to native speakers, we need to agree on what and how we are going to present it to language/culture learners. Culture as such will irremediably be affected by this process of selection, presentation, and discussion.

Robinson-Stuart and Nocon (1996b) state that a different approach can change this current state of disconnect between culture and pedagogy (and its participants). By including ethnographic techniques, regardless of the method of instruction, students can have first-hand experience with representatives of the target culture/language. In

Robinson-Stuart and Nocon the technique chosen consisted of interviews conducted in the target language with native speakers of the target language. The results of such research indicate an improvement of attitudes and understanding of the target culture. There might be many more ethnographic techniques that can be implemented in the classroom for the benefit of the students' deeper understanding of self and others (Egan - Robertson & Bloome, 1998).

The Role of Motivation in the Language Classroom

Gardner (1985) defines motivation as “the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language” (p. 10). Motivation in language learning has been studied intensely for the last four decades (Dörnyei, 2003b), first in the cognitive psychology field, and then in the second language acquisition territory. While the case of heritage speakers is dissimilar to that of second language learners, heritage speakers are still considered under the umbrella of second language acquisition (Dörnyei, 2003a) with respect to motivation research. Motivation has enjoyed a great deal of attention because it has been proven to be at least as important as aptitude in language learning, but, unlike aptitude, motivation is a variable that can be augmented by others (Noels, 2003).

Typically, motivation has been divided into an integrative/instrumental dyad, seen by others as an intrinsic/extrinsic distinction (Noels, 2003). In motivation models the integrative aspect refers to a desire or willingness to identify and/or participate in another language community (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). The instrumental aspect of motivation pertains to the practical benefits of learning the target language (Baker & MacIntyre, 2003). An example of integrative motivation could be learning a language

with the intention to date a person who speaks that language, or plans to live abroad; an example of instrumental motivation could be maintaining a high GPA, or getting a better job.

Dörnyei (2003b) proposes a process-oriented approach to second language (L2) motivation research that has three stages:

1. Preactional stage (choice motivation): motivation is generated by setting goals, forming intentions and launching an action.
2. Actional stage (executive motivation): the impetus is on generating and carrying out subtasks, ongoing appraisal (of one's achievement), and action control (self-regulation).
3. Postactional stage (motivational functions): forming causal attributions, elaborating standards and strategies, dismissing intention, and further planning.

(p. 19)

The crux of Dörnyei's (2003b) model is the emphasis placed on the instructor's significance in increasing or enhancing the language learner's level of motivation.

Dörnyei goes on to list the ways in which language instructors can implement his theoretical model. There are four basic dimensions to consider:

1. Creating the basic motivational conditions
2. Generating initial student motivation
3. Maintaining and protecting motivation
4. Encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation (p. 23)

Conclusion

Culture has been defined in this work as the sum of who we are, including language, and expanding it to the metaphors we live by. There have been several calls to escape the simplified traps of culture as a homogenous product or as a set of stereotypes. There is a clear need for a thorough discussion of culture and language teaching, in order to allow teachers to rely on the necessary tools and training they require for a better implementation of culture as a process; for example, Dörnyei (2003b) not only speaks to motivation among second language learners but also gives advice on motivating language instructors. In turn, students will be able to gain an infinitely more nuanced and fertile understanding of culture, their own and that of others.

There is a dearth of research under the new direction of culture and language under the anthropological umbrella. Genc and Bada (2005) propose culture classes for students, due to these classes' "humanizing and motivating effect on the language learner and the learning process" (p. 75). I have already made an argument for culture workshops for teachers as well, in the sections of definition of culture for language teaching purposes and more directly, in the definition of culture by language teachers section of this chapter. These steps are crucial, as Seelye (1984) has already warned; being bilingual does not ensure cultural understanding. Cross-cultural communication is not, nor has ever been, a nonessential option of a few, but a necessity for us all.

Heritage Language Speakers

Introduction

Heritage language learning has been addressed for the last 50 years, starting with the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP)

commissioning of a report about teaching Spanish to native speakers in high school and college. Pioneers like Guadalupe Valdés have been working on the topic of heritage language speakers and their needs since the 1970's (Colombi & Roca, 2003). Much remains to be done in the field, as the United States needs, now more than ever, to “nurture and produce loyal Americans who are also speakers of non-English languages” (Valdés, 2003).

According to Valdés (2000a), foreign language teaching in the United States has not been seriously involved with the languages of immigrants for a period of time longer than the last 50 years, due to early tensions registered between immigrants and settlers dating back to the case of German in Pennsylvania. In her introduction to *Spanish for Native Speakers* (2000a), Valdés explains that the ideal has long been to teach a foreign language to monolingual speakers of English. Given such description, bilingual speakers pose an unforeseen problem which most language teachers may not be prepared to tackle successfully.

However, there are indications of a significant change, with a flourishing number of publications on the topic, as well as an ongoing debate on the rights and needs of bilingual Americans and heritage speakers who live in the U.S. While some of this discussion has been undertaken by people who are not prepared to have a linguistically meaningful debate, i.e. politicians at large, this discussion is still an indication of the prevailing and growing need to face the reality of young Americans of mixed heritage and immigrants coming to this country, many of them young as well. More significantly, the efforts that are leading the change towards a more positive attitude for heritage languages in America seem to be happening at the grassroots level (Peyton, Ranard, &

McGinnis, 2001), which would attest to a more widespread and enduring movement in favor of maintenance and support of heritage languages in the U.S.

Heritage Language

Fishman (2001) renders two main conditions for a language to be a heritage language in the United States: (a) it must be a language other than English, and (b) have a family-related significance to the speakers of such language. Kondo-Brown (2003) clarifies that such a definition is very heterogeneous in nature, as it comprises any ancestral language, such as colonial, immigrant, or indigenous languages. Setting is also important, as it may or may not be widely spoken at home, but it is always linked with the heritage culture (Krashen, 1998). Valdés (2001) encapsulates it by stating that speakers of a heritage language have a personal connection to the heritage language; there was no specific mention of the nature of this affiliation (i.e. family-based). All definitions surveyed for this work agree that a heritage language is not the language spoken by the dominant society.

Kondo-Brown (2003), as well as Wiley (2001) and Valdés (2005) point out that there is no unified definition of heritage language (HL), as it depends on the perspective of the author. Moreover, there are other terms, such as ethnic or minority languages (Valdés, 2000b). Gambhir (2001) states that the term heritage language might apply when speaking about a true beginner, as is the case for an African American student of Swahili. In this case Swahili is considered the heritage language. On the other hand, from a pedagogical perspective, the term HL is usually linked to immigrant or indigenous (and endangered) languages. To illustrate, Merino et al. (1993) use the term “home language” when referring to what today is widely called heritage language, indicating that it is the

language spoken at home, and not in the community at large. Ultimately, the question remains: “Who can legitimately be considered a heritage language learner? Which is more important, affiliation with an ethnolinguistic group or proficiency in the target language?” (Wiley & Valdés, 2000, p. iii). For pedagogical purposes, the answer is with those who grew up in contact with the heritage language, and not just descend from the heritage culture, as may be the case with English monolingual third generation Italian-Americans learning Italian as a foreign language.

History of heritage languages in America. The evolution of heritage languages in America has been documented, and the usual life cycle is summarized by Veltman, (1983) with a three generational shift to English affirmed. The first generation learns English, but their native tongue remains dominant. The second generation is bilingual and displays more developed literacy skills due to their schooling in English. Finally, the third generation is English dominant, with just a few remnants or no traces of their heritage language. According to Wiley and Valdés (2000), this process is accelerating, with the dominant language displacing the HL in a shorter period, thus making organized efforts for heritage language maintenance more urgent. An unexpected repercussion of this deemed inevitable future for heritage languages has been that the movement against linguistic assimilation has gained strength in the last decades (Roca, 2000b).

Fishman (2001) denotes a significant difference between Spanish as a heritage language and other HL’s spoken in the United States. Unlike cases of refugees or immigrants from other continents, the flow of Spanish speakers into the United States has remained uninterrupted, and due to geographic realities, there is no real indication that it will stop or trickle down in a significant manner. Faced with this reality, Fishman is

encouraged with the current growing promotion of heritage-language proficiency. Fishman concludes that such policy would “dignify our country’s heritage language communities and the cultural and religious values their languages represent” (p. 95). The future of Spanish as a HL in the U.S. remains uncertain, with more and stronger efforts toward language preservation coupled, however, with new legislation that declares English as the official language in some states. The polarization of the matter calls for further education of the public, as well as policy makers, in order to conduct an informed dialogue firmly founded on the realities of HL in the country, and not based on the postulated arguments that are scientifically unsound, with a litany of negative effects that a future multiethnic nation would have on the U.S.

The Heritage Language Student

Several authors (Colombi & Roca, 2003; Valdés, 2000a; Webb & Miller, 2000) agree that the widely used term “heritage language student” is relatively new to the language education field. This term has been defined as “a student of language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (Valdés, 2000a, p.1). Due to its relatively recent introduction, the phrase heritage language learner (or student) still shows variations in its definition, depending on the context, social political, national and/or regional; as Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) explains, that according to Draper and Hicks (2000), the term has other labels still accepted, such as “native speaker, bilingual, and home background [speaker]” (p. 19); and Valdés (1995) contributed the terms “quasi native-speakers” and “residual speakers” (p. 306).

The fact that the heritage language is learned at home is a crucial characteristic for educational purposes as well as the classification as a heritage language student.

According to Kloss (1998), the brunt of the responsibility for maintaining and advancing the heritage language falls on the shoulders of the language minority community. If the student was exposed to, and/or used the heritage language at home, then s/he may be called, and treated as, a heritage speaker. If on the contrary, the language learner had no exposure at home, the language teaching profession in the U.S. will not deem her/him a heritage language learner (Kondo-Brown, 2003) but a foreign language learner.

Since heritage language speakers normally learn their heritage language at home, they complete their formal education in the dominant language, English. Due to this reality, there is a disparity between their linguistic abilities in either language. In the case of Spanish, as is true for many other languages, students who are heritage speakers are linguistically diverse (Colombi & Roca, 2003); some speakers are exposed only to Spanish until they enter formal education, or they are exposed to both Spanish and English. Their proficiency is equally distinct, with some heritage speakers understanding only basic casual exchanges, with limited registers; others can be highly accomplished in their heritage language.

According to Campbell and Rosenthal (2000), a prototypical heritage language speaker in general, as well as those who decide to study their heritage language, can have all or most of these distinctive qualities: (a) these heritage speakers have acquired approximately 90% of the phonological inventory of their heritage language, (b) they have also acquired over 80% of the grammatical rules, (c) they have acquired a large expanse of vocabulary, but may have a limited set of registers for sociocultural use, (d)

heritage language speakers have acquired needed sociolinguistic rules, (e) they have incorporated many of the cultural markings (customs, values, practices, etc) of their heritage language community, (f) it is not often that these heritage speakers are in situations conducive to the development of their literacy skills in the heritage language, (g) their reasons for studying their heritage language are intensely diverse.

Heritage language learners are significantly different from traditional language learners (Kondo-Brown, 2005). One of the more significant differences between traditional students and heritage language students is, according to Roca (2000a), the disparity of range in bilingual speakers, with their heritage language lacking the range given by formal education. Consequently, heritage language classes pay special attention to their literacy skills, vocabulary, registers, and overall command over their heritage language, in this case, Spanish. It is important to keep in mind that, while heritage students are in need of sufficient development of their heritage language to balance their command of the language, heritage students also bring into the classroom a plethora of resources that the language instructor must incorporate into the class design. It is most important to also keep in mind that students are not passive recipients of knowledge. Language instructors should avoid giving them the erroneous sense of merely lacking skills and having nothing to contribute as heritage speakers in the language classroom.

Heritage language speakers/learners are not a monolithic entity; far from it, as Arnhart, Arnold and Bravo-Black (2001) established, by providing a list of what they consider to be the different types of heritage language speakers:

1. Diglossic bilinguals, who use either language depending on context (addressee, topic, etc)

2. Proficient bilinguals, able speakers of both languages, regardless of literacy
3. Passive bilinguals, speakers who understand both languages, but do not speak the heritage language, their skills are mainly auditory; and
4. Covert bilinguals, as the names indicates, speakers who refuse to understand or speak their heritage language, despite their capacity to do so; this is due mainly to socioeconomic realities that may discourage the use of their heritage language.

The media have been shown to be feeding the trend in portraying bilingualism, in the form of heritage languages, as an undesirable reality for the country. McQuillan and Tse (1996) prove that, in a ten year period (1984 to 1994), there were 87% of academic publications on bilingualism and education with favorable results for this type of education. During the same period of time, McQuillan and Tse report that only 45% of media reports have been favorable toward the same topic.

The motivations that heritage language speakers may have to pursue further understanding and mastery of their heritage language are a good illustration of the diversification among HL speakers. Compton (2001) summarizes these motivations as the intention to maintain and develop their HL, preserve and grow their cultural values, a desire to explore their own identity, a wish to be bilingual, and finally, looking for membership in a community; all of these reasons constitute examples of integrative motivation. Compton explains “community-building, political activism, and the need for social support and comfort are other motivating factors for attending heritage language schools” (p. 148). The motivations can also lie outside of the HL speaker, as is the case of those enrolled in language classes because it is important to their parents and/or family. In the motivation spectrum, with integrative and instrumental motivation on

opposite ends, studying a heritage language because of peer or parental pressure lies on the instrumental side of the spectrum. Finally, the motivation may as well be completely instrumental, for practical purposes, such as language learning as a building block in the speaker's career.

Lynch (2003) asseverates that the processes and social factors characterizing heritage language speakers resemble those described in SLA and situations of language contact. Therefore, guiding principles such as order of acquisition, learner motivation, attitudes, socio-linguistic factors, and meaningful interactions, among many, must be observed. A big difference lies in the fact that most heritage language learners have a higher degree of oral skills than literacy skills (Schwartz, 2003). Much has been said about this significant difference and an example will be presented in 'Issues in heritage language education' further in this chapter.

Another compelling difference between monolinguals and heritage speakers is that the latter grow up in multicultural, bilingual communities (Valdés, 2001), which leads to diglossia. Diglossia is a term used to describe stable linguistic situations in which a community uses two language varieties or dialects for different functions of language. There are two varieties, high (H) and low (L), and they are employed in very distinct situations; for example, the H variety is used for government and high courts, education and media, and the L variety is used for informal exchanges with friends and family, folk literature and informal TV programs (Malmkjær, 1991a).

The challenges faced by HL speakers are numerous and sometimes tortuous, yet there is much to gain by retaining their HL. Studies on bilinguals have proven the benefits of bilingualism beyond doubt (Baker, 1993; Bialystock, 1987; Lambert, 1977;

Mackey & Beebe, 1977; Malakoff, 1992), yet, as a society, we somehow show a preference for a more elite bilingualism, attained in private schools, while underestimating those who attained their bilingualism at home. Bilingualism has been shown to have a beneficial effect on a person's sense of self, as well as positively impacting cognitive skills. Heritage language speakers should be encouraged to nurture and share the advantages of being bilingual.

The Traditional Language Student

As the differences between heritage language students and traditional language students are further discussed, the argument for a specialized curriculum for heritage language students will be made self-evident. These two groups of language learners will be shown to have distinctive needs, and, more compellingly, these groups have very different language acquisition backgrounds. These two groups would be best served by initial segregation from each other, preparing them for more advanced language classes that would enable them to contribute their strengths and enrich the areas that are in need of development. Webb (2000) indicates that this difference is not just among students; many teachers are not familiar with the experiences of heritage language speakers, making it more challenging for teachers to relate to HL speakers, or to prepare the material in such a way that it targets this particular group's strengths and weaknesses (Valdés, 2001).

Wang and Green (2001) point to one of the most widespread differences between traditional language students and heritage language students. The latter tend to have deeply felt identity issues, especially those born in America, as they struggle to assert their heritage as well as their nationality. Wang and Green interpret these heritage

language speaking Americans' dilemma: "Their badge of identity is often their linguistic ability in English" (p. 174). They elaborate that these HL Americans may even adopt "society's negative attitudes toward their own heritage group and refuse to be identified as members of it" (Wang & Green, 2001, p. 175). This is hardly ever the case for monolingual Americans learning a foreign language who tend not to question who they are and where they fit in society in terms of their language.

Schwartz (2001) provides us with an excellent comparative chart of heritage language speakers and traditional language students. The aspects of comparison cover language as well as motivation. Besides differences already presented, Schwartz points out that traditional language students (TLS) have a vocabulary in the target language that is extremely limited, yet consistent with the standard dialect. This is not true of heritage language students (HLS). With regards to culture, TLS have limited opportunities, if any, of interaction with target culture communities, and their understanding of the target culture tends to be limited. Finally, concerning sociolinguistic rules, TLS have limited to no knowledge of these rules, while HLS have profound understanding of sociolinguistic rules among friends and family.

A thorough understanding of who the students are, what they are prepared to learn, and when, can facilitate the learning process. This development will approximate the idealized language classroom, with students aware of their potential, and teachers ready to provide them with the tools needed to incorporate the elements of language. The promise of current research motivates many to be optimistic about future developments in the field (Schwartz, 2001), given the early stages of heritage language studies and the great strides observed already.

Benefits of Heritage Language Maintenance

Campbell and Christian (2001) state the importance of “the language proficiencies and cultural knowledge of the foreign-born and indigenous populations in the United States who speak languages other than English” (p. 255), due to its potential to advance “this country’s social, economic, and political well-being domestically and around the world” (p. 255). They go on to celebrate the growing awareness of the relevance, among heritage speakers, of maintaining heritage languages alive in their communities.

Campbell and Christian indicate that there is a growing trend among bilinguals to take pride in their bilingualism, by affirming “many are seeking ways to develop their own knowledge and skills as well as those of their children and grandchildren” (p. 255). This positive take on bilingualism is echoed in Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 337).

In contrast, it is not hard to find statements in the media that encourage immigrants to the United States to abandon their native language in favor of English, as proof of their new allegiance to their host country (Drosjack, 2007). Some have created well-organized movements against a multilingual community in the United States (<http://www.us-english.org>; <http://www.proenglish.org/notenglishonly.html>), as a search on-line can attest. In 1990, Fishman published his research on 170 countries and their respective histories of economic development and civil conflict. Fishman’s data suggest that multilingualism is not a factor in economical or political problems a nation may face. Then, according to Fishman’s findings, even if multilingualism were not an asset to a community, there is no negative impact in society stemming from bilingualism. While Fishman (1993) expresses doubts about proving the benefits of nurturing multilingual

societies, we will show next that it is indeed an asset to the individual and the community in general.

We exist in a global community with a multiplicity of languages, and in this era of international trade, the reality of instant communications is truer now than ever. Krashen (1998a) argues that language competence is crucial for international trade, and states: “Those experienced in international trade tell us that if you want to buy, you can do it in your own language, but if you want to sell, it’s a good idea to know your customer’s language” (p. 6). Carreira (2003) reports on the growing opportunities for bilingual Hispanics due to an increasingly favorable view of Spanish as a vehicle of socio-economic advancement; these findings are also supported by Callahan (2001). Carreira makes a strong argument for a national trend towards acceptance of the Spanish language as a vehicle of advantageous employment opportunities. Krashen (1998a) also cites numerous studies that demonstrate that bilingual speakers, those who retained their heritage language, had slightly better job positions, than their English monolingual counterparts. Carreira is careful to point out that this trend is not at all homogeneous, with some areas having much stronger positive attitudes towards Spanish than others. South Florida was presented as a region in which Spanish has been proven to be a factor that increases income, all things being equal. On the other hand, the Southwest of the country exhibits a slightly opposite trend towards a negative perception of Spanish, with noted exceptions, such as San Antonio.

Carreira and Armengol (2001) argue that it is not enough to have multilingual professionals, because multiculturalism is also required in today’s place of business. Among the benefits they list are increased productivity and creativity at the workplace.

The domains that require large numbers of multilingual, multicultural individuals are government, business, media and communications, performing arts and the motion picture industry, healthcare, and education. I would like to add the legal domain, as translators are crucial in the proper representation of people involved in the legal system who may not have full command of English. Carreira and Armengol conclude that should heritage language communities be made aware of the potential economic advantages of maintaining and expanding their linguistic skills in the HL, these linguistic minorities will have a stronger impetus to encourage and support their children, and themselves, to continue their education in their HL.

The benefits of this type of bilingualism (HL) have also been found in personal cognitive development. Peal and Lambert (1962) found bilingual students to have superior mental flexibility, a wider range of mental abilities, and improved skills for concept formation. This study (Peal & Lambert, 1962) compared monolingual vs. bilingual children. Hakuta and Díaz (1985) further explored the possible benefits of bilingualism in children and their results supported previous findings. Hakuta and Díaz also prove that among the beneficial effects of bilingualism we can now include are superior development of the bilingual child's divergent thinking, spatial abilities, and creativity, when compared to monolingual children. In a related study, academic results were impacted favorably by maintenance and development of the heritage language. Krashen (1998a) analyzes studies done in the United States and concludes that maintenance of the heritage language, paired with a parallel acquisition of English, "is related to superior scholastic achievement" (p. 7).

From a personal context, Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) illustrate that maintenance of the heritage language of the community allows younger generations to communicate and benefit from the acquired experience of the elder members of their family and community. The endurance of cross-generational ties in turn enables the heritage speakers to have a stronger sense of self, paired with an understanding of the gains from multiculturalism (Krashen, 1998).

Cho (2000) concludes in her study on Korean as a heritage language in the United States:

Those who have developed their HL have a strong ethnic identity, are strongly connected to their ethnic group, and have greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners; this further enhances their interactions with HL speakers. Moreover, HL development is shown to provide a personal gain, eventually contributing positively to the betterment of the society. (p. 333)

It is important to note that in the United States, Korean does not have the same status as Spanish, since Korean is not seen as the language of a technologically and economically impoverished society, as the Spanish speaking society tends to be portrayed and perceived in the media at large, despite the trend indicated in Carreira (2003).

Tse (1998) examines a series of studies on heritage language programs and surmises that when students attend heritage language programs, there is a positive effect on students' attitudes, with the subjects reporting an increased appreciation for their HL, confidence in their use of it, and intent to continue studying the heritage language. The same study (Tse, 1998) shows that participants in HL programs develop stronger ties and sense of pride towards their heritage culture, while, at the same time, becoming more

open to sustaining friendships with members of other cultural groups. This ability to form ties with people from other cultural groups is due to the heritage language speaker perception of lesser “social distance between ethnic groups” (Tse, 1998, p. 66). HL speakers in these HL programs express a sense of better understanding of members of other ethnic groups. Tse (1998) also demonstrates that subjects in heritage language programs do not harbor a strong desire to join the dominant group in society.

Cho (2000) outlines the benefits of maintenance of heritage language, in addition to English proficiency: “Developing the HL of ethnic minorities, in addition to English has been shown to have cognitive, social, and cultural benefits” (p. 333). In the particular case of the United States, Peale (1991) and, later, Brecht and Rivers (2000) indicate that there is an added advantage in encouraging multilingual citizens for national security: “They can help solve a growing nation problem- America’s need for citizens who are proficient in languages other than English” (as cited in Peyton et al., 2001). Regardless of one’s personal beliefs on the promotion of nationalistic sentiments as a vindicating effort for multiculturalism in the U.S., it must be affirmed that languages are inexorably part of who we are, as individuals and community members, and the loss, maintenance, or addition of a language will impact our society. The question is, Are we really that happy with our current society that we must reject anything that might alter its state?

Issues in Heritage Language Education in Spanish

Also called Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS), there are several issues that affect the development and growth of HL programs. Status is one of the overarching issues. Fishman (2001) explains that, in the United States, Spanish is not seen as a language with a long and solid history of literature; instead, it is perceived as a mass of non-standard

dialects associated with stigma and lower-class illiterates. Spanish is identified with a lower status not only regarding the language but the overall lower status of heritage languages in academia. Kono and McGinnis (2001) expound the position of HL in academia; they render the study of languages other than English in the United States as a luxury; consequently, little funding, promotion, and overall attention has been put in languages other than English. For language programs, the administrative affairs of enrollment targets and budgetary matters often result in a bare-bone approach to the needs of heritage language speakers (Kono & McGinnis, 2001), if any classes are offered at all, resulting in an impoverished source of choices for HL students.

Apart from administrative challenges, a bigger dilemma resides in the pedagogical needs in the HL field. Potowski and Carreira (2004) make a strong argument for a specific track for teachers of Spanish as a HL. They draw a parallel to the training of English teachers, pointing out that in every program the distinction is made between ESL and English language art teachers. Why is then assumed that teachers of Spanish literature are adequately prepared to best assist their heritage language students? This void in the preparation of HL teachers might be part of the reason Feliciano (1981) states that HL students are seen as “misfits” in the Spanish as a foreign language (SFL) classroom. Traditional classes aim at developing audio-lingual skills in the students, skills already honed by the heritage language students, who quickly lose interest in learning their heritage learning, due to improper class placement, which constitutes a great disservice to the these students.

García and Blanco (2000) present a list of requirements needed to be a SNS teacher that touches on all the main prerequisites:

- Minimum of advanced language proficiency;
- Knowledge of appropriate pedagogical principles in language expansion and enrichment;
- Theories of cognitive processing that underlie bilingualism;
- Theories of social and linguistic processes that underlie bilingualism and languages in contact;
- Knowledge of the sociolinguistic dynamics of Spanish as a world language and as a viable system of communication in the United States;
- Knowledge and understanding of the interdependence of the students' home culture with the Hispanic cultures in general. (p. 88)

Lacorte and Canabal (2005) examine university instructors' beliefs about their interaction with heritage and non-heritage Spanish language students. Their findings suggest an undercurrent of discrimination against the more frequently observed non-standard varieties of Spanish used by heritage language speakers on the part of language instructors. The result is that in mixed classes (heritage and traditional students) the HL students tended to segregate themselves into "barrios". Lacorte and Canabal argue that these barrios might be the direct result of the teachers' attitudes: "these 'barrios' could derive from the instructor's own lack of acceptance and legitimization of linguistic and cultural varieties that the Latino student brings into the classroom" (p. 96). Lacorte and Canabal conclude that language instructors need not fixate in the so called "deficiencies" (linguistically speaking) of the heritage languages and, instead, should accommodate to the reality of the classroom and address the needs of their students, without arrogance or disdain.

Teachers' expectations can be damning to HL students, as Lynch (2003) explains. Teachers' criticism of students linguistic varieties as bastardizations or inferior versions of Spanish are only a reflection of their lack of sociolinguistic preparation. Lynch calls this behavior "unethical" (p. 43) and denigrating. Krashen (1998b) has discussed the derisive consequences of teachers' expectations about their HL students and translated it into students' lack of interest in cultivating bilingualism, resulting in the loss of the benefits of bilingualism, affective, cognitive, and economic.

Language variation among HL students has been long observed, and there is a consensus that the variety the students bring to the classroom must be respected, while also providing them with a standardized dialect of Spanish (Fairclough & Mrak, 2003). Teachers' attitudes towards the students dialects might be negative (Kono & McGinnis, 2001). Such negative opinions result in loss of desire to continue studying their heritage language and a negative impact in students' self confidence in their linguistic skills (Martínez, 2003). Valdés (1995) notes that learning a second language (L2) and learning a second dialect are different processes, and very little has been published shedding light on how standard or prestige dialects are acquired among heritage speakers (Valdéz, 2001). At the crux of the distinction of L2 learning and HL learning, we have students who can always distinguish between the appropriate context of use of their language and the new language they are presented with, as is the case with L2 learners. On the other hand, HL learners do not always know the appropriate use and context of the forms they already know, neither are they sure about the context of use of the ones they are learning. I have observed this in instances of their use of colloquial terms for body parts in an academic setting, a mistake they would not make in English. HL students might only

know a limited number of meanings of a word in their heritage language and are liable to use it in the wrong context.

Valdés (1989) addresses the diversity of dialects found in the heritage language classroom and points out that for too long the approach maintained by textbooks and some teachers was to correct and “undo the damage done at home” (Valdés, 1989, p. 392). Instead, Valdés contends that we must address the overall needs of these HL students by developing their literacy skills to a level comparable to their skills in English. She further suggests developing students’ oral skills, so that they can effectively function in formal and informal settings. Valdés concludes that, when testing to ascertain a student’s proficiency, interviewers must be aware of regional varieties that do not in any way reflect errors or impede communication between native speakers.

Proper placement is crucial, and identification of heritage language speakers is not necessarily a straightforward process. A few may underestimate their own linguistic skills in their heritage languages; others may be looking to learn it “properly”, and a few others may be looking for an easy class. Fairclough (2006) studied placement exams at the University of Houston and concluded that placement exams should discriminate between spelling errors and language accuracy. Since heritage language speakers did not study their language, they might need more contexts to complete certain tasks, especially for fill-in-the-blank activities.

Assuming that the students have been placed in a fitting class, provided they are offered, the stakes could not be higher, as placing a heritage speaker in a foreign language classroom can be devastating for HL speakers. Krashen (2000) rationalizes: “Heritage language (HL) speakers are in a no-win situation in foreign language classes. If

they do well, it is expected. If HL speakers do not do well in foreign language classes, the experience is especially painful” (p. 441). After enumerating the different types of heritage speakers the language instructor may encounter in the classroom, Valdéz (2001) suggests that the most significant challenge is to capitalize on the connections the students already have to their heritage language. Roca (2000a) lists chief among the reasons for the failure of not adjusting the Spanish as a Foreign Language curriculum to attend to HL students needs is the difficulty of determining elementary and intermediate levels among HL students.

Lynch (2003) looks at SLA for inspiration in the design of a successful program for HL speakers. Wang and Green (2001) echo Clair and Adger (1999) when they expand the discussion by proposing a collaboration of bilingual education studies and second language acquisition, since the processes HL students go through can be found in both fields. Schwartz (2001) warns against overly relying on SLA, as these HL learners are not acquiring language as a foreign entity, but have incorporated English and Spanish, to varying degrees, as bilingual speakers, and SLA research in the U.S. is almost exclusively designed for monolingual English speakers. Roca (2001) concludes that we need to turn to all related fields in order to have a thriving discussion.

From a personal perspective, HL speakers are often ridiculed in their communities due to their lack of heritage language competence (Cho & Krashen, 1998). Augmenting this sense of inequality is a reported sense of isolation and exclusion from their community peers. Ensuing visits to a country where their HL is spoken tend to be traumatic experiences that the HL speakers try to avoid (Cho & Krashen, 1998). Carreira

(2000) reports that the main factors eroding HL speakers' sense of membership in their HL community are relatives, classmates, and teachers. HL speakers explain:

–Every laugh and giggle chipped away at my self-esteem...the innocent jokes and cracks took their toll on me and began the creation of a barrier between myself and my family.

–The most intimidating and painful experiences I have had... while attempting to learn Spanish have been dealt by my native Spanish speaking instructors... at the university. (p. 336)

The rapid loss of HL reported by Krashen (1996) and Fishman (2001) has given way to a breakdown of intergenerational communication. This would directly infringe upon the 'ratchet effect' described by Tomasello (1999), which is directly responsible for shaping who we are, through an evolutionary process. Wong Fillmore (2000) described the consequences of the loss of HL or family language: Increased separation of the children from their elders, especially the ones who do not learn any English, resulting in deterioration of family relations. The young members of the family find themselves in a society that is not encouraging of ethnic-linguistic diversity and, typically, choose the language of the majority in an effort to stand out less.

The reported replacement of French and German for Spanish as the language most taught in America (Fishman, 2001) presents a compelling argument for those who see a Spanish speaking led 'invasion' developing in America (Pomerantz, 2002). Ruíz (1984) proposes to move away from the language-as-right and other stances on minority languages, since they are seen as threatening and are understood as an attempt to overtake the host nation. Instead, Ruíz puts forth language-as-resource perspective to ameliorate

the perceptions on heritage languages and their communities. Ruíz states “it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities” (p. 25). Ricento (2005) rejects this proposal as it has failed to gain official support due to the nature of the dominant conception of American identity. Ricento says that language-as-resource would only be a viable choice if there were a shift from the prevailing hegemonic ideology regarding the roles of languages other than English in national life.

Kondo-Brown (2003) points out a grave contradiction in the U.S. language policies, as they aim to be simultaneously subtractive and additive, accomplishing none. Pertaining monolinguals, the policy has been additive, providing funding and support for compulsory language classes in the public education system. The confounding counterpart is the subtractive policy used with language minorities, receiving little or no support for language maintenance, resulting in the loss of the HL. The contradicting message is that learning another language is desirable, as long as it is a foreign language. Such argument is self defeating. What happens when Spanish is taught as a foreign and as a heritage language, how can the same language be desirable and subject to suppression?

Merino et al. (1993) demonstrate that the idea of one nation-one language is a myth, unsupported by the facts. Nationhood is not linked to a single language, as is illustrated in every inhabited continent. For example, only 16% of the population of Uganda speaks the official language, English. King (2000) writes about the irony of the reasons behind language revitalization efforts, which are based on the same oppressive principles that led to their threatened state. King is referring to the one language-one nation doctrine that has led to the eradication of minority languages. The ironic twist comes when minorities appropriate this principle in order to promote their own interests,

equating language with ethnicity and justifying their language survival as an ethnic matter. If languages are truly tied to ethnicities, we would indeed be able to identify a person's language based on their ethnicity.

Ultimately, the vitality of heritage languages in America depends not only on the combined support of organizations, institutions, and government, although national institutions need to reconcile their ambivalent positions toward minority languages (Aparicio, 1993). More importantly, the movement in support of HL's must originate from the heritage language community (Compton 2001), through parental support and encouragement, as well as financial and volunteer support from those in the community who can do so.

Approaches to Teaching Bilingual/Heritage Language Speakers

In the history of bilingual studies there have been three main approaches to bilingual education. While there is no widespread agreement on the exact terminology or number of types of approaches (Romaine, 1995), the consensus points towards three main approaches to bilingual education, namely, immersion, submersion and maintenance (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

Romaine (1995) produced an expert summary of these three approaches in bilingualism. When the majority students participate in an immersion program, the result is additive bilingualism. An immersion program is for those of a "majority societal language" (Genesee, 2004, p. 549), Canada is a good example with their programs for English, as the majority language, and French, as the language taught to these English speaking students. Submersion programs have been widely used in the U.S., with minority children being schooled in the language of the majority, the desired result is

assimilation. Under the Bilingual Education Act (1968), minority children are to receive instruction in their native language, but only to help them transition into the monolingual classroom of the majority students. The result is subtractive bilingualism. Maintenance programs aim at nurturing and developing the minority language. A maintenance program is similar to an immersion program, the main difference is that a maintenance approach is needed with minority students and immersion approaches are for majority students. The intended results are the same: additive bilingualism.

Valdés-Fallis (1978) reports that in the U.S. we find the “limited normative approach” to language maintenance first, followed by the more theoretically informed “comprehensive approach”. The limited normative approach is a contrastive approach that advanced the idea of eradicating the non-standard Spanish of HL students. The predictable result is students’ unwillingness to continue their studies in Spanish, alienated from academic pursuit of their HL and riddled by self-doubt on their linguistic competence. The comprehensive approach had a more positive tilt towards linguistic diversity, advocating that students develop standard or prestige Spanish, if given opportunities to practice through reading and writing in Spanish. The comprehensive perspective aimed at adding to the students’ knowledge, and not replacing it, as was the case with the limited normative approach.

Faltis (1990) response to these two approaches lies in Freire and Vygotsky’s work. Faltis proposes to move away from *talking about* the language and adopting a perspective that allows the students to *use* the language, involving the critical type of reasoning advocated by Freire and incorporating Vygotsky’s theory of social interaction at the center of individual language expansion. Faltis concludes: “SNS students must be

given the opportunity to use language for real purposes which, for Freire as well as Vygotsky, can only occur through authentic social interaction about topics that matter to students” (p. 124).

Boyd (2000) recounted the different approaches to languages other than English used in the U.S:

1. ESL classes are intended for immigrant children, submersion is the approach. The children receive some form of English instruction, either during the normal course of class period, or after class. The teachers are not necessarily proficient on the native language of the students. This approach is used when there is a large diversity of native languages spoken by the students.
2. Bilingual programs use immersion as their approach. Teachers use the native tongue of the students, but mainly to help them learn English faster, the early-exit bilingual programs especially. These programs aim at quick integration of the students into the majority’s language. Late exit programs continue using the heritage language, even after the students become proficient in English.
3. Foreign language immersion programs are directed at English speaking students and the instruction is done completely in the target language. Students are not taught about the language, but in the language. This is also known as elite bilingualism. It can be done in the U.S. or through year (or semester) abroad programs.
4. Heritage language programs are mainly for Spanish heritage speakers, but not limited to Spanish. Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas have large numbers of these programs.

Approaches to teaching heritage language students. Valdés (1997) presents four goals that should be present in any program for HL students: (a) Maintenance of HL, (b) Development of bilingual range, (c) Acquisition of a standard (prestige) variety, and (d) Transference of literacy competence.

Draper and Hicks (2000) recount the history of teaching heritage languages in America, and state that it has had three main approaches. The first and longer used approach has been to teach the heritage language after school or on weekends; these are often community-based efforts. The second approach is to teach heritage languages at school, or after classes, at school. In this approach, the significance of the heritage language in the curriculum may or may not be present. A third avenue is dual immersion, such approach was famously applied in Miami-Dade, with students, monolinguals and bilinguals, attending school together and having class periods in different languages; for example, all classes in the morning would be conducted in Spanish, and all classes in the afternoons would carry on in English (Romaine, 1995).

Roca (2000a) relies on the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* (ACTFL, 1996) as an efficacious set of guidelines for foreign language learning. The *Standards* presents communication as involving three modes:

1. Interpersonal mode: direct communication between individuals, oral or written.
2. Reflective mode: understanding and interpreting information, written or otherwise provided to the student, so they can reflect on it.
3. Reporting mode: presentation of learned information, or experiences to an audience.

These guidelines are congruent with a perspective of teaching that gets out of the way of the students' learning experience and aims at making the process more agile and meaningful, rendering it effective and constructive.

Giacone (2000) points out that more than previously thought is shared between monolingual American speakers studying English and HL speakers. He suggests that the teaching approaches should be similar, following the "language arts" approach used in English. According to McCallister, a language arts class is different from a language acquisition class in that language arts classes promote "thinking, analyzing and reasoning" (p. 110), in addition to the skills developed in a language acquisition situation: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Gonzales-Berry (1981) puts forth such approach over twenty five years ago, building upon the rich oral language experience the students bring into the classroom. Students are taught about different dialects and different registers, and the suggested context for each. Tallon (2006) sums it up: "The ideal goal of the language arts approach is the development of individuals whose language competency reflects a high level of education and positive self-image" (p. 41). As a warning, McCallister (2000) presents a critique of antiquated practices in the language arts field and puts forth a list of conditions that must be met in the language arts classroom: constructivism, social interaction, learning through practice and use, reflection and self-regulation, and relevance of culture and context. The last item, relevance of culture and context, should be at the center of the purpose of teaching (McCallister, 2000).

Unfortunately, the growing interest in support and maintenance of heritage languages (Boyd, 2000) comes with a price, the added attention to the causes of

minorities in America. Many are not aware of the benefits of nurturing a multiethnic nation and place great amounts of effort, time, and money into making English the only language to count with any form of federal or state support. We must continue with our efforts to educate the population by increasing the number of teacher training classes offered as well as effectively co-opting the HL speakers' interest in furthering their education in their HL.

Culture and Spanish Heritage Language Speakers in South Florida

Roca (2000b) writes about the spread of the Spanish culture and language throughout America. Media in Spanish is no longer confined to the usual suspects, California, South Florida, and South Western states. The appearance of Spanish speaking communities in Minnesota and Iowa is an indication of the spreading and growing Latino market, with a purchasing power of over US\$ 350 billion (Roca, 2000b). The Hispanic community now constitutes the largest minority in the United States. Roca concludes that this power is not limited to a growing economic presence but also to the political arena, as the 2000 elections have shown.

The reality of South Florida has been reported as somewhat different from the rest of the country, with the Cuban community having an influential presence; they are recognized as an affluent group (Carreira, 2000). Roca (1990) reports on the attitudes of language teachers from several institutions in Dade County: University of Miami, Florida International University, Barry University, St. Thomas University, Florida Memorial College, and the Miami-Dade Community College. Almost 68% of the teachers agreed that most students have a self-deprecating attitude towards their HL. A large majority, 80% of the teachers, believed that students enroll for integrative and

instrumental motivations. We can conclude that Spanish in Miami-Dade has little academic prestige, despite the variety of Spanish speakers that make up the population of South Florida.

The recent history of Spanish in South Florida. The recent linguistic history of South Florida was revisited in Lynch (2000). In the 1960's and on to the 1970's, Miami received large amounts of Cuban immigrants. In the 1980's, it was the turn for a more varied wave of Latin American immigrants. Between 1959 and 1962, groups of Cuban refugees came to the U.S. and, most of them, eventually established themselves in Miami. A large number of these refugees were professionals and business people. These immigrants were light skinned, anticommunist political exiles, and, as such, they were welcomed into the community by the Anglo-Saxon majority. These refugees were able to establish Spanish as a language equal to English in the region, as the language of the literate and powerful. A second wave of Cuban immigrants, by the end of the 1960' and beginning of the 1970's, helped reinforce Spanish as an important language in South Florida. A third wave of Cuban immigrants came in 1980, 125,000 Cuban immigrants came by way of the port of Mariel. This last contingent of Cuban immigrants has reported having great difficulties integrating themselves into the community, including the community established by Cuban refugees who arrived during the first and second waves. Despite the strong presence of Spanish speakers and their reported economic and political power, unlike any other Hispanic group in the U.S., bilingualism in Miami-Dade still exemplifies the typical situation of a minority language. Consistent with the characteristic role of minority languages, the English speaking community remains monolingual, and it is the Hispanic minority that acquires English, in addition to their Spanish.

By the turn of the millennium, “Miami had established itself as the capital of Latin American trade and commerce, entertainment, television, pop culture, and U.S. Hispanic power” (Lynch, 2000, p. 271). Resnick (1998) lists three main uses of Spanish in Miami: (a) language of immigrants, (b) native tongue of a numerous and socially predominant community of Cubans and their Cuban-American children, (c) language of business, work, and government. The *Pew Hispanic Center* (2006) published a fact sheet on Cubans, showing they are more educated, older, and more solvent than the rest of the Hispanic communities in America. Cubans are 4% of the total Hispanic population, which was estimated to be 40.5 million people by the year 2004. Reflecting the higher status of Spanish speakers (when compared to other Hispanic groups in other regions), especially Cubans, Miami has more media (TV, radio stations, and newspapers) than Los Angeles and New York combined (Lynch 2000).

Recontact is a phenomenon described in Lynch (2000); it is observed in “cases where individual and family-level influences lead to language attrition, social-level influences can intervene and promote language use and maintenance” (p. 277); thus, the label recontact. In Miami-Dade, it is affecting young Cuban-Americans who could otherwise have lost some degree of competence in Spanish. Because of recontact, which occurs when heritage speakers mingle with natives speakers of their heritage language, many Spanish heritage speakers are not only retaining but expanding their skills and registers in Spanish. Shared among different groups of Spanish speakers in South Florida is the belief that their dialect is a low variety of Spanish, with most Hispanic speakers surveyed stating that Peninsular Spanish was the prestigious variety of Spanish, as reported by Ramirez (2000).

Overall, the Latino population has grown 40% in the decade between 1990 and 2000, contrasting with the 10% growth reported in the rest of the American population (Potowski & Carreira, 2000). Correspondingly, Lynch (2000) predicts that the bilingual situation described in Miami is a sustainable one and, due to the socio-economical value of both English and Spanish in the South Florida community, we would continue to observe bilingualism in the future. Boswell (2000) agrees with this report on Florida and educational policies and practices. According to Boswell, the Hispanic population exhibits the largest rate of growth, over non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites. While he stops short of predicting that Florida would follow the bilingual reality of Miami-Dade, Boswell focuses on the maintained rate of growth as a strong indicator for policies in education that would best serve these Spanish speakers. Contrastively, Porcel (2006) enumerates the advantages of the Cuban American community: “size, concentration, and stratification profile” (p. 93), but he concludes that Spanish in Miami follows all the typical stages of transitional bilingualism; hence, Spanish is on its way out, although it may take longer than for Irish or Italian.

Conclusion

There is an obvious lack of demographic and linguistic studies on the complete linguistic picture in South Florida, with most studies only mentioning a few nationalities other than Cuban, such as Colombian, Venezuelan, and Argentine, but paying little or no attention to the uniqueness of these groups. For researchers and policy makers, it seems that the Spanish community is synonymous with the Cuban community, doing a great disservice to the needs of the heterogeneous nature of Latin American residents of the state.

Given the previous discussion presented in this chapter, culture needs to be better presented and discussed in class, and in order to do so we need to have a deeper understanding of it. There is a real need for organized discussion of culture and training for teachers, so that they can be proper enablers of understanding. For purposes of teaching, culture is not a concept, but a process that takes place at the same time as language learning occurs (Seelye, 1984). Cultural awareness in the language classroom is seen as a vehicle for language proficiency (Kramsch, 1993), underscoring the strong connection between language and culture. If teachers do not adopt a broad perspective of culture wholeheartedly, students will easily see through the veneer of cultural correctness. Language programs bear a large part of the responsibility when it comes to presenting culture as the poor cousin of the often invoked four language skills. Language programs also need to agree on a common approach as a program, in order to be coherent from semester to semester, regardless of teachers' beliefs or text selected.

Textbooks also need to reflect culture from an anthropological perspective, and not as an afterthought that is included at the end of every chapter, further reinforcing the perception that culture is but a side note to the more important linguistic matters that were presented earlier. This point has to be stressed by the teacher, through practice and testing.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents the processes, instruments, procedures, and population that were involved in the data collection for this study. This section is the foundation for the last two chapters: results and conclusions. This study's data analysis is based on the presentation of the research design of the study, research setting, procedures, and instruments discussed in this chapter.

Research Design

The purpose of this research is to isolate and understand the role of culture, if any, as a significant factor in pursuing studies in Spanish among the undergraduate population of Spanish heritage speakers at FAU's Boca Raton campus. In looking for the possible reasons that keep Spanish heritage speakers from enrolling in Spanish courses, I looked at multiple factors that constitute or are closely related to this researcher's working definition of culture:

1. Prestige of the Spanish language among the general community (the mainstream majority) as well as within the minority communities who speak Spanish.
2. Acceptance of Spanish speakers in non-Spanish speaking communities.
3. Desire of heritage speakers of Spanish to maintain and reinforce their links to the Hispanic communities.
4. Heritage speakers' ideas of what goes on in a language classroom.
5. Instructor's opinions on the role of culture in the language classroom.

6. The significance of the textbook used in a language class for heritage speakers.

The following research questions provided the framework for this survey study:

1. What difference is there between heritage speakers of Spanish (HSSP, which includes HSSA and HSS) and heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) with regards to their opinions on culture and the Spanish language?

1.a Is culture defined in the same terms by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish?

1.b Does a person's perception of the status of the Spanish language influence their intention to further their knowledge of it?

2. Is there a difference in background between heritage speakers of Spanish and heritage students of Spanish?

2.a What is the importance of friends and family in pursuing the study of Spanish?

2.b. How important are past experiences in the language classroom in predicting HSSP's intentions to continue studying Spanish?

3. What is the role of cultural identity in increasing the enrollment of HSSP in heritage courses?

3.a Do heritage speakers of Spanish see a connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups?

3b. What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision to study Spanish at the university level?

3.c What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision not to study Spanish at the university level?

4. How is culture understood and presented in the language classroom?
 - 4.a Is there a correlation between the instructor's opinions and the students' views on language and culture?
 - 4.b Is syllabus design significant in the understanding of culture by the students?
 - 4.c Do students enjoy the presentation of culture in the textbook?

The procedure used to collect the data was voluntary participation in a questionnaire that was administered either in class (HSTS), or at another location at the FAU Boca Raton campus (HSSP, which includes HSSA and HSS). The location depended greatly on the group of participants being tested; for those enrolled in a heritage class there was only one setting, the classroom. Those subjects who were heritage speakers of Spanish not currently completing any Spanish courses were met at other locations at FAU's Boca Raton campus. The instrument was a combination of Likert-scale questions as well as open-ended questions aimed at clarifying or expanding on topics presented during the Likert-scale part of the questionnaire. The instrument was a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches (See Appendices F and G).

The selection criterion for participation in this study was enrollment as an undergraduate student at FAU for the Fall 2007 semester. Since there were different groups responding to the instrument, the criteria was kept simple. Every participant who was not enrolled in a Spanish course was briefly engaged in casual conversation before being considered for this study. This brief chat was done right before they decided to participate, or weeks in advance to their engagement in the research. The students who were not currently enrolled in heritage classes for Spanish-speaking bilinguals were

asked if they grew up with either parent speaking Spanish; if the answer was affirmative, the interviewer switched to Spanish and asked about their use of Spanish: do they speak it every day? When do they use it? The answers were taken into consideration, as well as the language they used to respond to the brief, informal conversation as a qualifying method for this study. Only those who responded in Spanish were considered for this research study. This brief conversational process was especially important for the few participants who were not enrolled in Spanish for heritage speakers courses or active members of the Latin American Association of Students (ALAS) from where a large pool of subjects was obtained. Those who were in a class for heritage speakers were not engaged individual conversation, as their enrollment in the class, paired with the background questions in the instruments, were sufficient to establish their membership in a heritage speaker community.

The expected outcome of this data collection and analysis was to gain a better understanding of the reality faced by Spanish heritage speakers in South Florida, in particular, at Florida Atlantic University. A more complete picture of the opinions and cosmos of Spanish heritage speakers can be part of a language department's evolving approach, aimed at better serving the needs of the Spanish speaking members of our community at FAU. Because the nature of this study was exploratory, there were no hypotheses; instead, the previously introduced detailed list of working questions was the foundation of the study's design.

Research Setting

Heritage Language Programs in South Florida

South Florida demographics. The demographic makeup of Florida sets it apart from the averages shown in the statistical data compiled by the US Census Bureau. On the one hand, the percentage of American Indians, Asians, and Whites is smaller than the average reported for the nation; on the other hand, there is a larger presence of Hispanics and Blacks. When we examine the demographic data for South Florida (Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach Counties), the differences are marked: South Florida has a concentration of Hispanics, Blacks, foreign born persons, and a language other than English spoken at home, that is markedly higher than the national averages reported by the US Census Bureau. Such a particular group of characteristics results in a community of students that are likely to have an active or passive understanding of a language other than English. Within South Florida, Miami-Dade has the highest concentration of Hispanics and a language other than English spoken at home (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

South Florida and the United States Demographic Averages

Demographic characterization	South Florida	United States
Hispanics	32.9%	14.4%
Blacks	20.6%	12.8%
Foreign born persons	31.2%	17.9%
Language other than English spoken at home	39.5%	17.9%

The uniqueness of South Florida has been indicated, and/or addressed, in several articles (Ramírez (2000), Carreira (2003), Potowski (2005), Valdés et al. (2000), and Varela, (2000)). In the existing literature, an overwhelming amount of attention has been placed on Cuban-Americans and their speech. In the present study the participants indicated a wide variety of origins, with Colombian, Venezuelan and Peruvian as some of the most often mentioned, second only to the more expected Cuban and Puerto Rican origins.

Presumably as a response to the needs of the community and unlike some public universities in some other states, public universities in South Florida offer several courses of Spanish for heritage speakers. According to the Florida’s Board of Governors’ web site, there are two public universities serving the region: Florida Atlantic University (FAU) and Florida International University (FIU). As a point of reference, New Jersey, a state with demographic averages that are very much in line with the national percentages (Shown in table 3.1) will be used. In New Jersey, Rutgers University is comparable to

FIU, since both institutions are research universities located in highly populated counties of each state. FIU has multiple sections of courses for heritage speakers of Spanish, not only during the main Fall and Spring semesters, but for the Summer periods as well; in contrast, Rutgers University has no courses for heritage speakers of Spanish. This simple comparison helps establish the special characteristics of the linguistic communities in South Florida better, especially when compared to the rest of the country.

The number of courses available for heritage speakers of Spanish and their frequency demonstrates the different demographic values indicated in each county in South Florida (see Table 3.2). Case in point, FIU is located in Miami-Dade County, with a larger presence of Hispanics, foreign born persons, and a higher percentage of a language other than English spoken at home (US Census Bureau, n.d.); consequently, FIU offers at least three different courses specially designed for heritage speakers of Spanish every semester for an average of 330 students. FAU is located on the southern side of Palm Beach County, and gets a smaller share of the Hispanic population. FAU reports that 17% of its students are Hispanic, much in line with the percentages for Palm Beach County: 16.1% as reported by the US Census Bureau (see Table 3.2). FAU offers two courses for heritage speakers of Spanish, for an average of 40 students, in the Fall and Spring semesters; no heritage courses are offered in the summer.

Table 3.2

Demographics for FIU in Miami-Dade and FAU in Palm Beach County for Fall 2007

Demographic characterization	Miami-Dade county	Palm Beach county
Hispanics	60.6%	16.1%
Foreign born persons	50.9%	17.4%
Language other than English spoken at home	67.9%	21.7%
Percentage of students enrolled in courses for heritage speakers of Spanish	2.9% FIU ^a	.69% FAU ^b
Students enrolled in courses for heritage speakers of Spanish	660 at FIU	40 at FAU

^a Florida International University Office of Planning and Institutional Effectiveness.

^b Florida Atlantic University Office of Institutional Effectiveness & Analysis.

Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton Campus. The sample population that participated in the study was polled from students registered at the FAU Boca Raton campus. According to the FAU Office of Institutional Effectiveness and Analysis, 69% of the total students at FAU attend the Boca Raton Campus. Broward County is the main source of students for FAU. The US Census Bureau reports that Broward County also has a higher-than-national-average percentage of Hispanics, persons of foreign origin, and

those who have a language other than English spoken at home, compared to the state and rest of the country (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3

Demographics for Broward County, Florida, and the US

<i>Demographic characterization</i>	<i>Broward county</i>	<i>Florida</i>	<i>USA</i>
Hispanics	21.9%	20.2%	14.8%
Persons of foreign origin	25.3%	16.7%	11.1%
Language other than English spoken at home	28.8%	23.1%	17.9%

While the percentage of Hispanic students enrolled at FAU has consistently grown over the years, from 10.4% in 1997 to 17.5% in 2007 (Florida Atlantic University Office of Institutional Effectiveness & Analysis, 2007), such increase has not been reflected in the number of students enrolled in courses for heritage speakers (see table 3.2). In the last six years (see table 3.4), the average percentage of enrollment in heritage courses for speakers of Spanish at FAU has been .66% of the Hispanic population (Florida Atlantic University Office of Institutional effectiveness & analysis, 2007). This low percentage might be due to a myriad of reasons, introduced earlier as the factors that are connected to culture, such as lack of interest. Other possible factors not previously named could be: poor or inexistent course promotion, advisors' unfamiliarity with these courses and their benefits (fulfillment of the mandatory language requirement in a single semester, not two as is the norm). These reasons, compounded with the belief that these courses are only for Spanish majors, Hispanics' desire to believe that they have mastered

their heritage language, past negative experiences in language classrooms, and language instructors of Spanish as a foreign language failing to identify heritage speakers early in the semester, continue to keep heritage speakers of Spanish from expanding their heritage language literacy skills.

Table 3.4

Six year Enrollment at FAU in courses for heritage speakers of Spanish

Year	Hispanics at FAU	Students in courses for heritage speakers of Spanish
2002	12.5%	.92%
2003	13.5%	.52%
2004	14.8%	.71%
2005	15.9%	.6%
2006	16.4%	.52%
2007	17.5%	.69%
Average	15.1%	.66%

Note. Data obtained from Florida Atlantic University Office of Institutional Effectiveness & Analysis.

The issue of identification of heritage speakers needs special attention. Students need to see themselves as heritage speakers before they can even consider taking a Spanish for heritage speakers course. The tendencies point in opposite directions: heritage speakers who do not consider themselves linguistically capable to take a course for Spanish bilinguals and those who consider themselves too linguistically advanced to

be in need of learning a language they already speak. One way of reaching out to these students could be through periodic attendance at meetings of their student organizations, such as ALAS, or by inviting a student currently enrolled in a heritage course to address heritage speakers and in her own words explain what these courses entail. At the same time, language instructors also need to be more attentive to the students' degree of competency, in order to relocate them to a course that would be more adequate for their linguistic proficiency. Therefore, a great part of the issue is twofold: the heritage speaker must see herself as a heritage speaker of Spanish and the instructor also needs to be able to identify these heritage speakers in their Spanish-as-a-foreign-language classes. At the beginning of every semester, all students enrolled in beginners' Spanish courses take a computer generated placement exam that greatly determines, by confirming or reassigning, the class level the students need to take. Also, the Spanish program advises all their language instructors to quickly address the potential heritage speakers and direct those to a brief oral interview with one or two instructors, who decide what course would be best suited for the student. Once heritage speakers are properly identified, they take a placement test that determines in which level of the heritage courses they would be better served.

Spanish for heritage speakers I and II. Spanish for heritage speakers I and II courses are offered in the Fall and Spring semesters, with one section for each; thus, there are two courses offered each semester. According to the instructors consulted, the objectives of the Spanish for heritage speakers courses are to develop student's literacy and oratory skills in diverse settings found in every day and employment activities. The current textbook in use, *El Mundo 21 Hispano* (Samaniego, Rojas & Alarcón, 2005),

features a plethora of cultural and historical information on Spanish speaking countries¹; it also spotlights famous people from each Latin-American country. The textbook has separate sections, at the end of each unit, dealing with grammar, explanations and exercises. Woven into the main presentation of each chapter are orthographic rules. This textbook has a strong leaning towards literature and literary analysis. The course aims at preparing the students for a diversity of situations by providing them with a standard variety of Spanish, a better understanding of dialects of Spanish, as well as imparting respect for non-standard forms of Spanish (Martínez, 2003), the use of written and spoken registers of Spanish, and providing them with greater familiarity with the people and nations that use Spanish as their primary language.

Participants

Heritage Spanish speakers. This study enlisted a total of 59 subjects enrolled at the FAU Boca Raton campus during the Fall 2007 semester (see Table 3.5). Three groups of subjects took part in the survey study. The first group of participants, group 1, consisted of 29 heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) enrolled in Spanish for heritage Speakers I, SPN 2340, and Spanish for heritage Speakers II, SPN 3343. These courses meet for two-hour sessions twice a week. The second group of volunteers, group 2, consisted of 26 heritage speakers of Spanish participating in the Association of Latin American Students, ALAS. ALAS is a student organization with the stated objective “To ensure the promotion and appreciation of the Hispanic culture at FAU and in the community” (Florida Atlantic University Student Development & Activities, 2008). This second group will be identified as HSSA. The subjects were not enrolled in any Spanish

¹ There was a second textbook used in one of the participating groups, as will be explained in the language instructors section.

courses and showed a diversity of majors, with business being a very common choice. ALAS meets weekly, on Mondays at 3:00 pm, and the students present in the sessions attended by the researcher were the volunteers responding to the instrument. This data collection spanned the months of September and October, 2007. Finally, the third group of student participants, group 3, was composed of heritage speakers of Spanish (HSS) who were contacted through friends, students, or acquaintances. They were FAU students not enrolled in any Spanish classes or participating in meetings or activities organized by ALAS. The participants of this group were met at the Boca Raton campus, at a time and day set by them. No credit or compensation of any kind was offered to the participating students.

Table 3.5

Group Classification of Participating Subjects

Subjects	Heritage speakers of Spanish		
	Heritage students of Spanish HSTS	Heritage speakers of Spanish in ALAS HSSA	Heritage speakers of Spanish not participating in ALAS HSS
volunteers	29	26	4

Language instructors. The two participating language instructors have master's degrees in Spanish and were teaching each of the two classes visited during the Fall 2007 semester. Instructor A has been teaching heritage classes for the last four years and has a total of 21 years experience in language teaching. Instructor A has taken pedagogy

courses during and after obtaining her master's degree in Spanish. The textbook used by Instructor A, *El Mundo 21 Hispano* (Samaniego, Rojas, Ohara, and Alarcón, 2005), was chosen by her and has been consistently used during her years working with heritage speakers at FAU. This same book is the one currently in use for both sections of heritage speakers, the first half of the book is covered during the first of the two semesters (SPN 2340) and the second half of the book is completed in the second semester (SPN 3343). The textbooks chosen and a basic understanding of their perspectives on language and culture are further elements that contribute to the overall characterization of the reality faced by students of Spanish as a heritage language at the FAU Boca Raton campus.

Instructor B stated that she had no previous experience teaching heritage courses but had extensive experience teaching language courses. Instructor B has “read books, articles, and attended lectures” on teaching heritage students and their needs; she has six years of language teaching and has not taken any teaching classes. While both levels of heritage speakers' courses usually work with one book for both semesters, Fall 2007 was unusual. Instructor B used *Nuevos destinos: Español para hispanohablantes* (Elliot, 1999); this book was not chosen by the instructor but assigned by this course's previous instructor. *Nuevos destinos: Español para hispanohablantes* (Elliot, 1999) is the companion book to a video, the *Nuevos Destinos* (1992) video series. The choice of book requires the instructor to spend class time watching the video, which is a soap-opera type story. The book has the grammar presentations incorporated into each chapter, and they are a significant part of each chapter. There is also presentation of works of literature. Spanish-speaking countries are presented but with much less prominence than in the other textbook used with heritage speakers at FAU, *El Mundo 21 Hispano* (2005).

Research Procedures

The analysis of data deals with the quantitative data gathered among the three different groups of participating heritage speakers of Spanish and uses the data provided by the two language instructors involved in this research as a secondary tool to gain a more nuanced understanding of the state of heritage courses at FAU. Qualitative data were also gathered from the same FAU students and the two instructors. The corresponding textbooks were also briefly included in the final analysis, in order to better assess the realities of one of the three participating groups of students: heritage students of Spanish (HSTS).

There were several reasons for the present design of the research. Careful consideration of the research objectives, variables, and subjects were determining factors in the resulting design of the research approach and methodology. The research design was adapted and based on a non-experimental, survey research data-gathering approach.

In opposition to the fundamentals of experimental and to some extent quasi-experimental designs, the variables of this research were not manipulated in any way, nor were there control or treatment groups. Consequently, the absence of an experiment that subjected a group to a potentially different experience than the rest of the participants was a decisive factor in employing a non-experimental approach. The data were compiled following a survey research approach, defined by Muijs (2004) as “the collection of data using standard questionnaire forms” (p. 34). Surveys are widely used in the education and linguistic fields. For this research, a combination of pre-existing surveys, as well as items created specifically for the purpose at hand, proved to be a more productive route to complete this survey study.

The selection of subjects followed a semi-stratified random sample model; this approach allowed for the forced inclusion of heritage speakers of Spanish who were not enrolled in Spanish classes, nor participated in ALAS activities. These subjects were pre-qualified for inclusion in the research because of their non-involvement with either group (Students of Spanish or ALAS). Selection of the semi-stratified sampling method was also coherent with the early decision to subdivide the participants into two groups and one subgroup. Muijs (2004) explains: “Doing this [semi-stratified sampling] involves first dividing the population into the groups we want to study” (p. 39). This method of sampling is suggested in order to get a “more accurate representation” of the studied population (Best & Kahn, 2005, p. 17). While the final number of participants in one of the groups of the study did not reflect the demographic realities of FAU, the option of excluding these subjects seemed more detrimental than the decision of including them in a percentage that was not reflective of their numbers.

The research design for the quantitative data gathering and analysis is correlational. In correlational designs, subjects are not randomly assigned to any treatment groups, as illustrated by Mark & Reichardt (2004). It was not the purpose of this research to study and/or contrast different instructors, syllabi, and methodologies among students; therefore, the correlation approach was based on the subjects’ responses. In the absence of different treatment groups; other methodologies were irrelevant for the research design.

Quantitative Data

The data for group 1, HSTS, were collected during a single, normal class period of the students’ heritage speakers of Spanish class. There were a total of two classes,

levels 1 and 2. The researcher contacted the corresponding language instructors in advance, both during the Spring 2006 semester and then a month before the expected day of data collection, in the Fall 2007 semester. During the Spring 2006 semester, the instructors were met for an explanation of the nature of the research, the main objectives, and the purpose of the investigation. The instructors received copies of the questionnaires the students would be responding to and their comments and questions were addressed. At the time of the meeting, the instructors were given the researcher and researcher's chair contact information, in case they changed their mind about participating, had more questions, or wished to contribute to the research in any other way.

The instructors chose the day and time they preferred the researcher to address the students and recruit their participation. After the instructor introduced the researcher, the researcher briefly stated the purpose of the study and underlined the voluntary nature of their participation; no extra credit or rewards of a similar nature were offered to the subjects. There was a script (See appendix D) prepared for introductory purposes, which was not read, but kept on hand. The script had been semi-memorized in order to ensure a similar explanation for all participating groups.

In both classes visited, all the attending students chose to participate, filled out the IRB documents, and responded to the instrument during class time, as previously discussed with the instructor. The researcher remained in the room while the subjects worked with the instruments, in case there were questions or doubts. In one class two subjects had questions about their own background; no other questions were reported. The students were given no time limit to respond. As they finished, the researcher

collected the questionnaires. It took the participants an average of twenty minutes to complete the instruments.

During this same class meeting, the researcher gave the instructors a questionnaire to take with them. Each instructor was given a week to respond to it, and they were free to ask for more time if needed. Neither asked for an extension; their questionnaires were returned to the researcher within the time allotted.

The data group 2, HSSA, was contacted through the president and members of the organization. After obtaining written permission to attend their ALAS meetings, which happened weekly, the researcher attended ALAS sessions for a month; a total of five visits were completed. The officers were met before the beginning of the first session attended by the researcher for data collection, in order to explain the nature of the research, its purposes, and the value of their participation. The sessions visited spanned from mid September to mid October, coinciding with the campus wide celebration of Hispanic month during the Fall 2007 semester.

In each of the meetings, which were conducted both in English and Spanish, the researcher participated as a regular member of the association, responding to attendance call, following the varied conversations and discussions, and reading out loud when asked to do so. At the end of each session, the president of ALAS provided an open forum for those who wished to address the organization. At this point, the researcher introduced herself as a PhD student conducting dissertation research, closely basing this introduction on the prepared script. The students were told about the nature of the research and the value of their voluntary participation. No incentives were offered for their involvement in the study. In each session, instruments, as well as the corresponding IRB forms were

distributed; those interested in participating had to take a set and pass the rest along. The rate of participation decreased with each ALAS subsequent session, from a majority initially to less than a third of the attending members in the last and fifth session visited by the researcher. By the last session, most of the regularly attending students had already agreed to participate in the survey study, allowing for a considerably smaller pool of potential participants.

The researcher stayed until the end of each session in order to collect the completed instruments. Participants were not given the chance to take the instrument home and return it at a later time, as this has been proven to diminish rate of responses (Muijs, 2005). A few participants had questions about items that were not applicable to their particular situation. They were told to answer only the items they could. The researcher initially explained and presented the instruments in Spanish, but switched to accommodate the interlocutor(s) accordingly, between Spanish and English.

Finally, the data group 3, HSS, was contacted in person, depending on how the researcher came upon them. The researcher was also a linguistics instructor during the Fall 2007 semester and communicated with her students, asking for FAU students who grew up with Spanish as their home language; one student qualified for the study. Another student who was also a Resident Advisor (RA) at the FAU Boca Raton campus, located several FAU students that fit this request. During the months of September and October of 2007, the researcher visited FAU housing facilities to meet with students who had initially agreed to participate in this research. As each was met, they were individually told about the purpose of the research and the value of their participation. This opening introduction was based on the script prepared for this purpose. All of the

students agreed to participate and the researcher stayed with them until they had completed the instruments and IRB forms. The volunteers were not offered extra credit or any other type of reward for their participation.

Qualitative Data

The surveys prepared for students and instructors included a section that allowed for answers in a more flexible format. There were a series of open ended questions, inviting the subjects to elaborate, explain, or enumerate variables that they felt were not addressed in the first section of the instrument.

Essay questions. The two instruments for the students, questionnaires A and B (See appendices F and G), included open-ended questions. The same case was true for the instrument designed for the language instructors. The questions were not the same for each instrument, as they addressed different, possible topics the subjects may want to expand on. The inclusion of this type of questions was an invitation to elaborate, clarify, or include aspects the participants felt should be part of the discussion about Heritage speakers. Student A Questionnaire had nine open-ended questions that followed the Likert-scale items. Student B Questionnaire included seven open-ended items that came after the Likert-scale section. The language instructors' questionnaire included nine essay-type questions, which were also placed after the closed questions that served as advance organizers for responding to essay-type questions, in the same manner as they were organized in the student questionnaires.

Data Collection Instruments

There were a total of three different instruments used for data collection. They were all variations of a core set of 35 items that addressed the underlying research questions.

Questionnaires

The core concepts for the design of the questionnaires were based on the work of Wegener & Fabrigar (2004), as they state:

Constructing quantitative measures can be thought of as occurring in major stages. First, the researcher must specify the goals of the measure and formulate the theoretical assumptions that guide its construction. Second, a pool of potential items must be generated. Finally, the performance of the individual items must be evaluated and items for the final scale selected (p. 146).

Several questionnaires were consulted for construction of both pilot and final student questionnaires, as well as the instructor questionnaire: Beckstead & Toribio (2003), Carreira (2003), Koop, (1991), Martin & Laurie (1993), Mertens (1998), Muijs (2004), Potowski (2000, 2002), and Schulz (2001). A combination of formats: close and open-ended items, as explained by Mertens (1998), served best for the collection of quantitative and qualitative data. During the early stages of the development of the instruments, some of the items that were going to be in a closed question format were presented as open-ended items in a pilot version of the instruments. The purpose was to have the subjects identify some of the possible answers and follow-up questions, thus involving the subjects in the final shape of the instrument their peers would be faced with in the future. The volunteers that participated in the pilot instrument testing for the

development of the instrument were FAU students who participated in ALAS during the FALL 2006 semester.

The closed questions allowed for a rating sequence known as Likert-scale. The principles listed in Best and Kahn (2005) were followed in the construction of the Likert-scale, which resulted in a five point scale, with an odd number of choices: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree. While the debate is ongoing (Mertens 1998, Muijs 2004) on even vs. odd number of answers, mainly concentrating on whether the term neutral is truly a neutral option for the respondent, and whether it should just be a set of four items, with two options on opposite sides of the spectrum, this matter is not relevant for the present study. For this research, and based on the pilot tests, the resulting instruments included a neutral answer in the middle of the continuous scale, given that many expressed feelings of neutrality. Most of the closed questions provided five continuous answers, with the exception of two items that provided a non Likert-like continuous selection of answers (See Appendices F and G), allowing the subjects to rank their preferences.

After determining the format of the instrument, the categories to be addressed were organized and translated into several corroborating and complementary questions in the instrument. The categories that were shared by both questionnaires were background, language and culture, identity, and motivation, and each questionnaire had a minimum number of items for each of the categories (see Table 3.6). A fifth category pertaining to classroom dynamics was not included in student questionnaire B. This added category was part of both student questionnaire A as well as the instructors' instrument.

Table 3.6

Categories for all questionnaires

Categories	Minimum number of items
Language and culture	12
Background	14
Identity	9
Motivation	11

While there are three identified groups being studied, the needed instruments were not three but two, since the heritage speakers of Spanish who were not enrolled in heritage courses were divided into two subgroups, with membership and/or participation in ALAS as the defining variable for inclusion in group 2 or 3. Thus, after identifying the two main groups of heritage speakers and the subsequent division of one of them, there were still two resulting questionnaires.

Student questionnaires. The two instruments, student A questionnaire and student B questionnaire, were based on a common core of items, mentioned earlier and illustrated in table 3.6, with the exception of the items for the category of motivation, as they shared a statistically insignificant number of items. The changes made were in consideration of the distinctive variables of presence or absence of enrollment in a heritage class as the decisive factor for inclusion into group A (HSTS) or either B (HSSA), or C (HSS). As mentioned before, the fifth category included in the student A instrument was classroom dynamics.

Table 3.7

Categories for student A questionnaire

Categories	Number of items
Language and culture	12
Background	19
Identity	19
Motivation	11 ^a
Classroom dynamics	26

^a Refers to the minimum number of items, but does not imply that those eleven were the *same* in each instrument, as was the case for the rest of the categories.

Table 3.8

Categories for student B questionnaire

Categories	Number of items
Language and culture	12
Background	17
Identity	31
Motivation	14

Instructor questionnaires. The instructor questionnaires (See appendix C) were not the primary source of data for this study, as the focus is on heritage speakers, and not on instructors of heritage speakers. Nonetheless, attention must be paid to them as they

are a significant factor in the development of linguistic and cultural skills of heritage speakers of Spanish.

The instrument given to the two participating instructors was based on three core categories listed in table 3.6: Language and culture, identity, and background. The same category that was included in student questionnaire A was also included in this instrument: Classroom dynamics. This decision was reached due to the fact that the subjects participating with instrument A were students already enrolled in heritage classes, and the participating instructors were working with those same students.

Table 3.9

Categories for Instructor questionnaire

Categories	Number of items
Language and culture	18
Background	4
Identity	4
Classroom dynamics	23

There were a total of 60 items in the instrument, of which 45 were Likert-scale in format, six were open-ended in order to get basic demographic and background information, and the last nine items were essay conducive, for a qualitative perspective of the instructors' outlook on working with heritage speakers of Spanish. Given the limited number of participants for this part of the study, there was no pilot test, as that would have eliminated all possible participants in the heritage language instructor pool available. Nevertheless, the core items that were part of the Likert-scale items were

pulled directly from the core set of items indicated in Table 3. 6, which had been previously tested on a pilot group composed of heritage language speakers of Spanish. Therefore, the items had been previously tested on a pilot population, albeit one that was not composed of language instructors.

Data Analysis

All of the data resulting from the questionnaires were analyzed descriptively. The program used for this purpose was Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 13.0 for Windows. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) is the recommended method for comparison of means of continuous variables between three or more groups (Muijs, 2004). ANOVA is a methodology similar to correlation analysis; it looks for differences between continuous measures. The main purpose was to look for statistically significant relationships and the strength of the possible relationships(s) (effect size). As is the case with descriptive statistics, means and standard deviations were produced for all the data that was common in both student instruments.

In the analysis of non-continuous variables, such as age, major, gender, etc. Muijs (2004, p. 125) lists the following conditions for the use of Chi-square test:

1. The variables studied cannot be continuous, only nominal or ordinal data can be used.
2. There cannot be any values of less than one.
3. No more than 20% of the cells may be of an expected value of less than five.

The total number of responses was counted and coded. There were different resulting units (each response is a unit) depending on the instrument taken, A or B. Only

the common items were used for comparison among groups, and within each group, a descriptive analysis was done to identify possible tendencies or trends within each group.

Data Coding

All three instruments: Student A, B, and the instructors' (See appendices A, B, and C), had three approaches to data elicitation in common. For the category of background, student A questionnaire had 12 items with a completion format, resulting in nominal responses. Student B questionnaire had nine items for the same section. The instrument for the instructor had five items of the same nature, in the same completion format. The value labels for these items varied between three possible answers or eleven possible answers: In the case of QA3 'instructor', the coded answers were 1 Instructor A, 2 Instructor B, and -9 no answer. Item QA3, 'major', required the most number of values:

“1”: Education

“2”: Business

“3”: Psychology

“4”: Biology

“5”: Spanish

“6”: Criminal Justice

“7”: Communication

“8”: Humanities

“9”: Sciences

“10”: Other

“-9”: No answer

The second, third and fourth categories: language & culture, identity, and classroom dynamics were put in the Likert-scale format. In this part of the instrument, there were six possible answers; hence, the values were presented in the instrument as follows:

1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 neutral, 4 disagree, 5 strongly disagree, and for the unanswered items, “-9” was the standard assigned value.

When these responses were coded, there was an inversion of values and the inclusion of a sixth value for items unanswered. The reason behind the reversal of numbers was to maintain the commonly assigned values to Likert-scale items when statistically analyzed.

The resulting value scale was:

5 strongly agree, 4 agree, 3 neutral, 2 disagree, 1 strongly disagree, and for the unanswered items, “-9” was the standard assigned value.

There was a third format for obtaining data, included after the Likert-scale items, and present in both student questionnaire instruments. The format of ranking is in order of significance to the respondents; this is considered a continuous format and was present only in the students’ instruments. While all these items have the category of motivation in common, each item went back to one of the three main categories that were the basis for the instrument. The items were coded according to the ranking provided by the subjects, who had to assign a numerical value to each statement. The values were coded:

5 most important, 4 important, 3 indifferent, 2 less important, 1 least important, -9 no answer.

Once more, the coding of this ranking item was reversed in order to keep with common statistical practices. The items appeared in the instruments as follows:

1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 neutral, 4 disagree, 5 strongly disagree.

The qualitative data were collected for purposes of clarification and elaboration on any of the topics alluded to during the Likert-scale items. Closed items can give the subjects the sensation that they are forced to pick an answer, when sometimes none of them properly addresses their ideas, perceptions and opinions. The open-ended section of the instruments was an invitation to complement the answers given in the previous items, as well as to include aspects they felt were also part of the discussion.

The instructors' instrument did not include the ranking of items corresponding to reasons for taking or not taking heritage language classes; it was not applicable (one with 11 and the other with 14 items). This instrument for instructors was implemented as a secondary source of data, to compare and contrast with the responses given by the 29 subjects that responded to student A questionnaire.

Language and culture. This category had the largest concentration of Likert-scale items, 18 in total for both student A and B questionnaires (see table 3.10). While this study adopted a survey approach and gave a forum for introduction of other variables, the link between language and culture and their significance for heritage speakers of Spanish received the most attention during construction of the instruments. The instrument designed for language instructors also had 18 items under this category, the second largest concentration, after classroom dynamics. In this section, the purpose was to assess what the subjects understood as language and as culture, and whether they perceived a relationship between the two. Subjects were also asked to grade the status of the Hispanic culture in their respective communities. Finally, subjects responded to items concerning the perceived distance between the Hispanic and Anglo-American cultures.

Table 3.10

Items for Language and Culture in all Instruments

Instrument	Student A	Student B	Instructor
items	questionnaire	questionnaire	questionnaire
Items in common	12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 41, 46	12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 41, 46	12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 41, 46.
Items present in one instrument			65

Background. As a reflection of the focus of this study is on the students and not the language instructors' thoughts on heritage language students. The number of Likert-scale items pertaining to the background category, there were at least 14 items in the students' instruments, compared to only three items for the instructors' questionnaire. The three instruments shared one item (See table 3.11). Student A questionnaire had a total of 15 items, while student B questionnaire had 14 items. There were three items in the instructors' questionnaire corresponding to background information. The background category collected standard data for demographics heritage language speakers (Kondo-Brown, 2005, Potowski 2000, 2002), such as gender and language(s) spoken by parents, and items that referred to past experiences in language classrooms, either at the high-

school or college level, as a response to the literature that speaks toward the negative treatment some heritage speakers have reported. (Potowski 2000, 2002, 2005, Potowski & Carreira 2004).

Table 3.11

Items for Background in all Instruments

Instrument	Student A	Student B	Instructor
items	questionnaire	questionnaire	questionnaire
Items in common	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 56, 57, 58	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 56, 57, 58	1
Items present in one instrument	3, 10, 11	59, 61	63, 34

Identity. The link between identity and language has been discussed at length during previous chapters of this study; consequently, the instruments for data collection were consistent with those principles of circular, mutual definition, and redefinition between language and identity. The same pattern stated for the category of background is reflected in this category: There are many more Likert-scale items for the students' instruments than for the instructors'. The items targeted feelings of belonging to more than one culture and willingness to be seen as a member of either or both groups.

Table 3.12

Items for Identity in all Instruments

Instrument	Student A	Student B	Instructor
items	questionnaire	questionnaire	questionnaire
Items in common	25, 26, 27, 52, 53, 54, 55	15, 16, 17, 52, 53, 54, 55	26
Items present in one instrument	48, 50, 51		60, 76, 77

Classroom Dynamics. This category was not present in all of the instruments. Classroom dynamics can only be addressed among those who were participating in a Spanish class for heritage speakers at the time of data collection in Fall 2007. Those subjects could only be the respondents to student A and instructor's questionnaires. This was the only category that received more attention in the instructors' and not the students' instrument. The Liker-scale items were aimed at measuring perceptions, influence of the instructor on the students' opinions on language and culture, and existing ideas of what students expect a language classroom to be like. Finally, attention was paid to students' views on the textbook they worked with during the semester.

Table 3.13

Items for Classroom Dynamics in Student A and Instructors' Instruments

Instrument items	Student A questionnaire	Instructor questionnaire
Items in common	32, 33 ^a , 34, 35, 36, 37, 39 ^b , 45 ^c , 48	32, 33 ^a , 34, 35, 36, 37, 39 ^b , 45 ^c , 48
Items present in one instrument	29, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47	66, 67, 68, 69 ^c , 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81

^{a, b, c}. These items are not identical but are cross-referenced with items marked with the same letters in the student A or Instructor questionnaires.

Motivation. Just as was the case with classroom dynamics, this category was not common to all the groups of participating subjects; yet it distinguishes itself by aiming only at the students' opinions. The instructors' views on enrollment motivations were not required, as they could be mostly anecdotal, speculative, or based on literature on the topic. In the case of student A questionnaire, there were a total of 11 ranking items, with ten referring to the reasons to take the course for heritage speakers of Spanish, and one item labeled "other", allowing the subject to fill in the blank their own response. For student B questionnaire, the item spoke to the reasons *not* to have enrolled in either course for heritage speakers of Spanish. There were 14 items in total with no option to select "other" as a possible response. The subjects participating with instrument B had further opportunities, during the essay section of the questionnaire, to name and expand

any other reasons that were significant to them. The format for eliciting information in this case was not Likert-scale; but a ranking opportunity, as explained in the Data Coding section.

Table 3.14

Items for Motivation in Students' Instruments

Instrument items	Student A questionnaire	Student B questionnaire
Items in common ^a	62-1, 62-2, 62-3, 62-4, 62-5, 62-6, 62-7, 62-8, 62-9, 62-10, 62-11	62-1, 62-2, 62-3, 62-4, 62-5, 62-6, 62-7, 62-8, 62-9, 62-10, 62-11
Items present in one instrument		62-12, 62-13, 62-14.

^aThese items were not the same statements, they were further defined by preceding each item with QA or QB.

Validity and Reliability

Validity testing of an instrument is an elusive, multidimensional construct, and cannot be conclusively determined by a particular test (Best & Kahn, 2006). Nonetheless, “careful test construction; adequate score reliability; appropriate test administration and scoring; accurate score scaling... and careful attention to fairness for all examinees” (Joint Committee of Standards for Educational Psychological Testing, 1999, p. 17) are important elements that indicate the validity of an instrument.

Among the indicators of validity, reliability is a measurable factor. Mertens (1998) indicates that reliability is synonymous with consistency. For our study Cronbach's alpha is widely used for internal consistency testing of the instrument. Muijs (1999) explains that one of the simplest ways to test for reliability is posing the same question more than once, as long as each item is slightly different in form. The instruments used for our research included a certain degree of redundancy for purposes of reliability. There were no tests done for stability, which would have required repeated testing of the instrument with the same subjects.

Conclusion

This research has purposefully taken a hybrid approach to the study of heritage speakers of Spanish at the university level because of the benefits of each approach, on the one hand "quantitative methods are better at looking at cause and effect (causality, as it is known), qualitative methods are more suited to looking at the meaning of particular events or circumstances." (Muijs, 2004, p. 9). While there is limited basis for generalization of the findings of this research, due to its size, focus, and the survey-like approach to data gathering, the better the situation of these heritage speakers is understood, the more promise there is for further studies which can produce generalizable findings. The significance of this survey study is to first identify and explore, casting a wide net, the possible variables that are present in the realities of FAU heritage speakers. The studies consulted for this research indicated that most of the research is concentrated on students who are already enrolled in courses for heritage speakers. Little is known, and much is speculated, about the choice of so many heritage speakers to refrain from taking language classes that would help them develop their literacy skills, among other

skills. There are no studies addressing the comparatively low enrollment numbers in heritage courses in South Florida and specifically at FAU. After identifying the factors involved in low enrollment, future studies can be designed to analyze variables isolated in the study. Resulting recommendations from this and future studies can contribute to the implementation of measures and approaches that would ultimately result in more heritage students exploring their heritage language.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the findings of the four research questions that were the foundation for the present study. The impetus behind the research questions was to explore some of the factors involved in the decision of a heritage speaker of Spanish to study Spanish at the college level. Special attention was paid to the potential role of culture as a variable that could be a predictor of a heritage speaker's desire to acquire literacy skills in his/her heritage language. Societal and instructional variables were also examined. The research questions were:

1. What difference is there between heritage speakers of Spanish (HSSP, which includes HSSA and HSS) and heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) with regards to their opinions on culture and the Spanish language?
 - 1.a Is culture defined in the same terms by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish?
 - 1.b Does a person's perception of the status of the Spanish language influence their intention to further their knowledge of it?
2. Is there a difference in background between heritage speakers of Spanish and heritage students of Spanish?
 - 2.a What is the importance of friends and family in pursuing the study of Spanish?

- 2.b. How important are past experiences in the language classroom in predicting HSSP's intentions to continue studying Spanish?
3. What is the role of cultural identity in increasing the enrollment of HSSP in heritage courses?
 - 3.a Do heritage speakers of Spanish see a connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups?
 - 3b. What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision to study Spanish at the university level?
 - 3.c What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision not to study Spanish at the university level?
4. How is culture understood and represented in the language classroom?
 - 4.a Is there a correlation between the instructor's opinions and the students' views on language and culture?
 - 4.b Is syllabus design significant in the understanding of culture by the students?
 - 4.c Do students enjoy the presentation of culture in the textbook?

Descriptive Data of the Sample Population

The study included 59 heritage speakers of Spanish and two instructors of Spanish courses for heritage speakers of Spanish. The heritage speakers group, the study's subjects who were the foremost focus of this investigation, was divided into three sub-groups: HSTS heritage students of Spanish enrolled in a Spanish for bilinguals class in the Fall 2007 semester, HSSA heritage speakers of Spanish who were members of the FAU student-driven organization ALAS, which is centered around Latin-American

culture, and HSS, heritage speakers of Spanish enrolled at FAU, who were neither participating in Spanish language classes nor in ALAS.

The subjects that responded to the item on gender reflected a demographic make-up of 20 males and 36 females. There were three subjects who left this item blank. The group with the more significant imbalance of gender representation was HSTS, with 22 female students and 7 males. The total numbers for the gender of each of the three groups are shown in Fig 4.1.

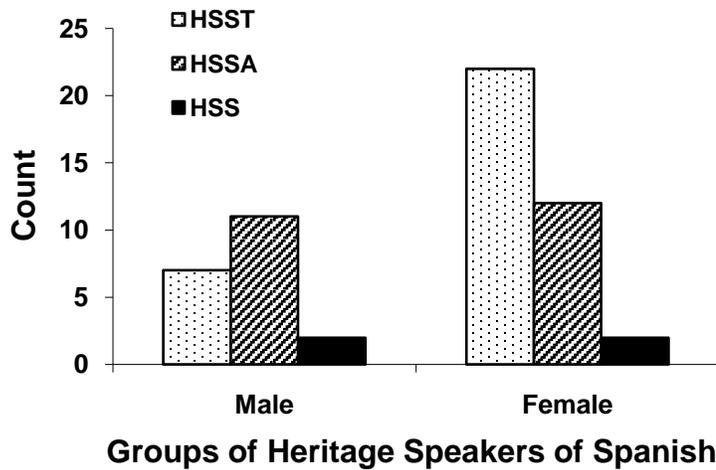


Figure 4.1. Ages most represented in the population sample of FAU heritage speakers of Spanish.

The 59 subjects reported ages that ranged between 17 and 50 years old. The mean age for the HSTS group was 23.285, the HSSA group had a mean of 18.818, and the HSS group had a mean age of 19.666. The sample population participating in this study appears to be reflective of the average population for FAU, with female students outnumbering males. The percentages of the ages most often seen in the sample population are shown in Fig 4.2.

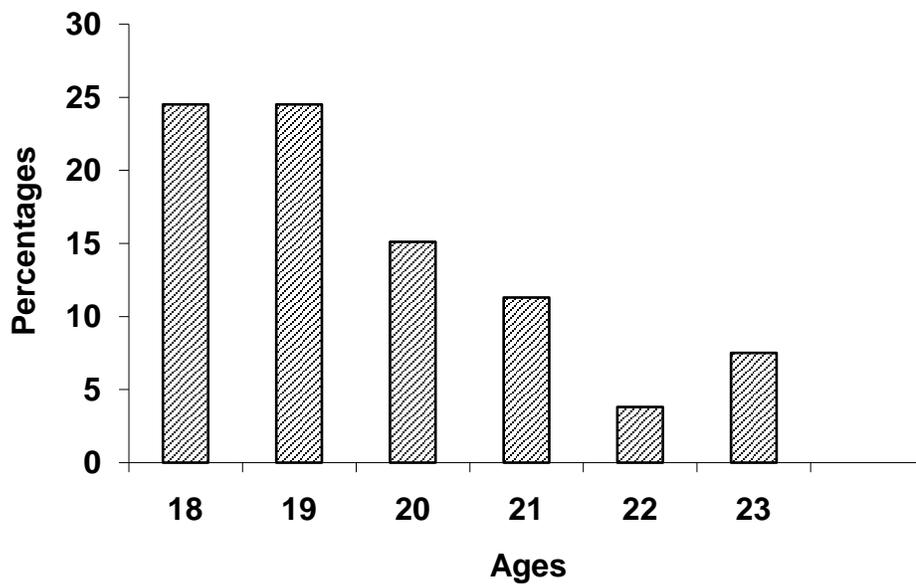


Figure 4.2. Percentages of ages significantly represented in the population sample.

The HSTS group had a minimum age of 18 and a maximum age of 50; the HSSA group had a smaller range of variation, with 17 as the minimum and 22 years old as the maximum age. Finally, the HSS group had the narrowest range of variation, with a minimum age of 17 and a maximum age of 21 years old. The limited age variation cannot be taken as a representative sample of heritage speakers of Spanish at FAU given the narrow size of the sample population.

The HSS group and all of the collected data for the corresponding subjects cannot be considered as a population sample equal to that of sample population sizes of HSTS and HSSA. There were equal amounts of participants in the HSTS and HSSA groups, but only four volunteers participated as HSS (heritage Spanish speakers who were not taking Spanish classes nor were they members of the student organization ALAS) For purposes of clarity, potential implications, and future research, their data resulting from HSS will be reported, and when pertinent, trends will be indicated; but these reports are not

equated with the responses given by the rest of the subjects of this study. Statistically significant results cannot be elicited from HSS; trends are the only potentially significant results arising from such a limited sample number.

The two instructors participating in the research did not provide any demographic information other than gender; they were both female, consequently, age is not reported for this group.

Research Question 1

What difference is there between heritage speakers of Spanish (HSSP, which includes HSSA and HSS) and heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) with regards to their opinions on culture in general and the Spanish language?

The focus of this question is to tease out possible salient characteristics between the three participating groups with regards to their views on culture in general as well as the Hispanic culture and language. In order to better understand the opinions of the heritage speakers, the sub-questions help refine and define the motivation behind the first research question.

Research question 1.a. Is culture defined in the same terms by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish?

There were ten items in the students' questionnaires that were modeled after a Likert-type format aimed at identifying heritage speakers' opinions about culture. These ten items were identical not only for both student questionnaires, but also for the instructors' instrument as well. Appendix A, B and C, contain these items, numbered 13 through 22. Descriptive statistics indicated slight differences in the ranking of the choices between 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neutral', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree' between

the three participating groups being reported here. As stated earlier and due to its size, the responses for HSS will be reported, but not considered for the ensuing analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Among the HSTS group with 29 respondents, the item most often ranked as a first choice was “I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, holidays”. The standard variation was low, $SD = 0.687$, indicating that most subjects concentrated their answers between ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’. There were a few outliers who selected disagree as an option, but those responses were not significant for the standard deviation calculation.

The 26 subjects in HSSA chose “I think that culture is best represented by values and attitudes” as their first choice for a definition of culture, with a mean slightly above ‘I agree’. This option of culture equal to values and attitudes was chosen as second and third options for the HSTS and HSS groups respectively; indicating that the link between culture and values and attitudes is ranked in the top three for all heritage speakers of Spanish. The range of responses was wider for this group, varying from ‘disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’, with most of the responses concentrating on ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’. The standard variation was 0.0803. The open ended question related to this item, “How would you define culture What elements would you add to the ones mentioned above?”, had similar responses provided by the heritage speakers:

“Culture is the environment that surrounds us, beliefs, practices, traditions, everything is culture”

“The collective worldview of an ethnic group”

“Culture is who your [sic]; the music, values, and customs you have”

Finally, the four subjects in HSS selected the same item as HSTS: “I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, holidays” as their first choice for a characterization of culture. This group showed zero variation, $SD = 0.000$; every subject answered “strongly agree” to this item. The topic of culture’s relation to customs, traditions and holidays was also important for the HSSA group, which ranked it third in its responses, with a mean that was slight above “agree”. This item was the unexpected first choice for two groups who seemed to have the least in common with respect to their views on maintaining a link with Spanish while at the university.

There were two statements chosen as least representative of culture among HSTS: “I think that culture is best represented by government and politics” and “I think that culture is best represented by famous persons”, both items had a mean response slightly above ‘disagree’; with the majority of the students selecting that option. The standard variation was predictably low, $SD = 0.889$ for both items; yet there were responses that included “agree” to ‘strongly disagree’ in the data collected. These two items of ‘government and politics’ and ‘famous persons’ in relation to culture were also ranked low among the other two groups: HSS and HSSA.

As indicated earlier, the members of HSSA also chose “I think that culture is best represented by famous persons” as the least likely definition of culture, with a mean equivalent to ‘neutral’. The responses still presented variation, ranging from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’ with most concentrating on ‘neutral’. The HSSA participants were the only group that returned means for the culture definition items that never went under neutral, in other words, for HSSA speakers, all the proposed definitions of cultures

were agreeable or neutral, there were no items that were rejected by this group as a whole.

The four participants in HSS coincided with the first group, HSTS in selecting “I think that culture is best represented by government and politics” as the item least synonymous with culture, with a mean answer right in the middle of disagree and neutral. The standard deviation for this group of four was 1.73, reflecting the great dissonance in responses chosen.

An interesting observation on the results of the definition of culture by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish is that item 18, “I think that culture is best represented by daily life (food, clothing, etc)”, received a comparable response among all three participating groups, with a mean response slightly above ‘agree’. This item also showed a low standard deviation, indicating that this mean is representative of the bulk of the responses; not one participant responded ‘strongly disagree’ to this item. All groups ranked ‘culture as represented by daily life’ either third or fourth in the items they most often relate to culture. The uniqueness of the responses for this item are represented in Fig 4.3, with the distribution of percentages for this item among all heritage speakers of Spanish is shown in Fig 4.3.

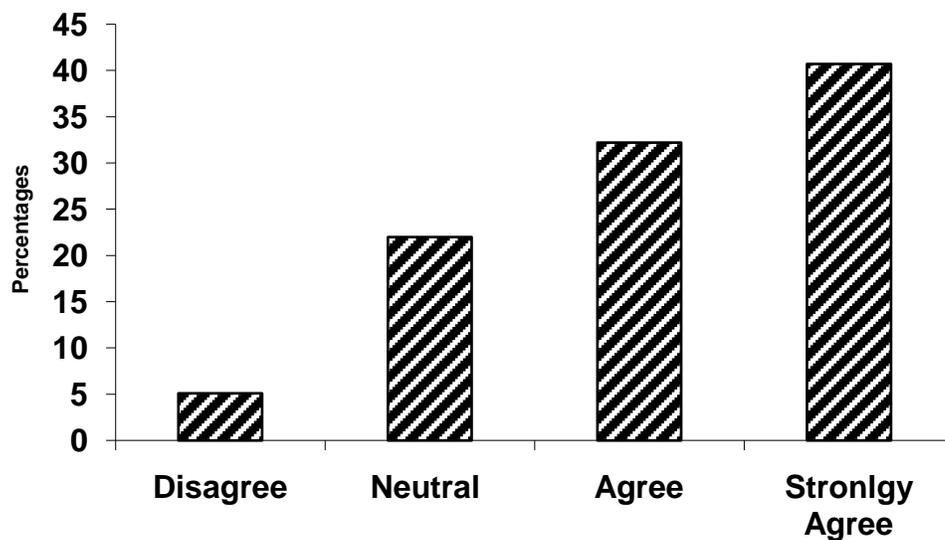


Figure 4.3. Distribution of percentages for ‘Culture represented by daily life’, item 18.

Lastly, the item “I think that culture is best represented by the fine arts (literature, poetry, painting)”, received a similar response among HSTS and HSSA, with a mean response of “agree” that placed this item as fifth in the rankings of both groups. These two groups are expected to be closer in the HSTS – HSSA – HSS continuum, as they both seek for ways at FAU to explore and enhance their bicultural identities. Figure 4.4 indicates the percentages for these two groups.

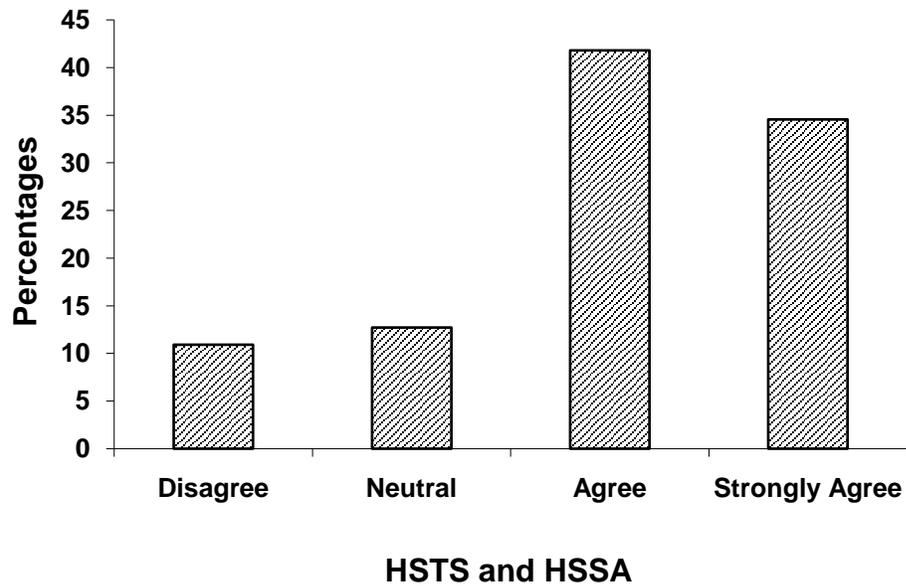


Fig. 4.4. Combined percentages of responses given by HSTS and HSSA subjects on the item of ‘Culture as fine arts’.

For these two groups, HSTS and HSSA, the item of ‘culture and the fine arts’ was in the middle of the scale of items that best describe culture, above items like government and politics, but below statements related to ‘daily life’, ‘the way people interact’, ‘customs, traditions and holidays,’ and ‘values and attitudes’. The HSS group in contrast overwhelmingly selected ‘strongly agree’ as their mean response to this item, making it second only to ‘culture represented by customs, traditions, holidays’. The standard deviation for this item was a mere 0.500. The items that characterize culture as customs, traditions, and holidays on the one hand and the fine arts on the other have been seen as representative of perspectives that are at opposite sides of the continuum for culture definition. This can be indicative of various possibilities and will be discussed in the conclusions part of this study. Table 4.1 contains the descriptive statistics obtained from the data on this research question.

Table 4.1

Descriptive Statistics for Definitions of Culture Among FAU Heritage Speakers of Spanish

Culture represented by	Mean			Standard deviation			Ranking		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
History	3.448	4	4.250	0.909	.692	0.957	7	6	3
Customs, traditions, holidays	4.482	4.192	5	0.687	1.096	0	1	3	1
Values and attitudes	4.310	4.384	4.250	0.890	.803	0.957	2	1	3
The way people interact	4.137	4.280	4	0.789	.678	1.154	3	2	4
Government and politics	2.827	3.230	2.500	0.889	1.031	1.732	9	9	6
Daily life	4.069	4.076	4.250	0.957	.890	0.961	4	4	3
Leisure time activities	3.689	3.769	3	0.890	.862	1.154	6	7	5

Table 4.1 (Continued)

	Mean			Standard deviation			Ranking		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Culture represented by									
The media	3.379	3.346	3	0.978	1.263	1.414	8	8	5
The fine arts	4	4.038	4.750	0.886	1.076	0.500	5	5	2
Famous persons	2.827	3.076	3	0.889	1.128	1.825	9	10	5

Note. Highest and lowest ranked items for each group are in bold.

A one-way analysis of variance, ANOVA, was run in order to establish any statistically significant differences between the three groups with respect to the variable of culture and what the subjects equate with it. The instrument had ten items for the students to rank according to their standpoints on what feature(s) best equated to culture (See table 4.2). Nine out of the ten variables showed no statistically significant differences. The ANOVA test showed a significant difference in ‘culture represented by history’ between HSSA and HSTS ($F(2.56) = 3.89, p = .026$), with the ALAS group, HSSA, indicating that they ‘agreed’ with that statement more strongly than HSTS, those enrolled in Spanish classes.

Table 4.2

Analysis of Variance for Culture Characterization Items in Students' Instrument

Culture represented by	Group <i>df</i>		Group <i>MS</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>P</i>
	Between	Within	Between	Within		
History	2	56	2.632	0.677	3.887	.026*
Customs, traditions holidays	2	56	1.377	0.773	1.782	.178
Values and attitudes	2	56	0.055	0.734	0.075	.928
The way people interact	2	55	0.213	0.591	0.360	.699
Government and politics	2	56	1.615	1.031	1.566	.218
Daily life	2	56	0.059	0.865	0.068	.934
Leisure time activities	2	56	1.030	0.800	1.286	.284
The fine arts	2	56	1.009	0.923	1.092	.342
Famous persons	2	56	0.432	1.143	0.378	.687

Note. *df* = degree of freedom, *MS* = mean square, *f* = frequency, *p* = probability

**p* < .05

The HSS group cannot be reported in a statistically significant way; nonetheless their responses were in line with the subjects who were not enrolled in Spanish classes. The mean for the HSS groups was 4.250, indicating that all of them chose either “agree”

or “strongly “agree” for the ‘culture represented by history’ item. History as representative of culture was chosen most frequently by HSS subjects, followed by the HSSA group, also with small variation ranging from neutral to strongly agree. The HSTS group of students enrolled in Spanish courses chose this option less often, with a mean of 3.448, slightly above neutral with the widest variation, from strongly ‘agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. There was only one noticeable exception to the HSS group responses keeping in line with the HSSA group. The item “I think that culture is best represented by government and politics” has a mean response of 2.500 locating it in between ‘neutral’ to ‘disagree’. The other group that was not enrolled in Spanish classes, HSSA, showed a mean response that was set between ‘agree’ and ‘neutral’. In this instance, the HSS group had responses that were closer the HSTS group, which also had responses that fluctuated between ‘disagree’ and ‘neutral’.

Research question 1.b. Does a person’s perception of the status of the Spanish language influence their intention to further their knowledge of it?

The instrument had two items associated to this question: “I think that the Spanish language has a good status in the state” and “I think that the Spanish language has a good status in my community”. A descriptive analysis of these two items showed all three groups had a positive outlook on the status of Spanish in their communities as well as in the state of Florida (see table 4.3)

In the case of ‘Spanish has a good status in the state’ the HSS group indicated with very little variation a mean response of ‘agree’, and no subject in this group went lower than ‘neutral’ in this item. The HSTS group had a slightly, but not significantly lower response; the mean for this group can also be equivalent to ‘agree’, yet there was

more variation, as the responses went from 'disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The group that showed the most variation and the relatively lowest mean was the ALAS related group; HSSA subjects had a mean response right in the middle of 'neutral' and 'disagree'. Even more telling is that the responses went from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

The second item, 'Spanish has a good status in my community' received very similar results to those of the first item just discussed. Again the HSS group had the highest mean response, above 'agree', and no one chose anything below 'neutral'. The standard deviation was low. In this item's case, there was a reversal of order between HSSA and HSTS groups: The HSTS group had the overall lower mean response; identified as almost equally between 'neutral' and 'agree', the responses ranged from 'disagree' to 'strongly agree'; thus, the standard deviation was relatively low. As a final point, HSSA subjects had a mean answer that was closer to 'agree' than 'neutral'. Their range, reflected in a high standard deviation, was just as varied as that of HSTS. In this item, no group ranged as widely (veering the full spectrum of responses) as did the HSSA group with 'Spanish has a good status in the state'.

Table 4.3

Descriptive Statistics for Status of Spanish Language

Status of language	Mean			Standard deviation			Sample size		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Spanish in the state	3.827	3.538	4	1.071	1.174	1.154	29	26	4
Spanish in the community	3.551	3.846	4.250	1.088	0.880	0.957	29	26	4

After an ANOVA test was run, no significant differences were detected. ‘Spanish has a good status in the state’ has a value of .56 and ‘Spanish has a good status in my community’ returned a .311 value. No other findings can be reported, due to their lack of statistic significance.

When frequencies were run on the data on these two items, the resulting standard deviations indicated more consensus on the “Spanish has a good status in my community” when compared to the heritage speakers’ opinion on the status of “Spanish has a good status in the state”. Overall, heritage speakers of Spanish showed that 55.9% of them ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with Spanish having a good status in the state, while 54.2% of the subjects felt the same way about Spanish having a good status in their community. The complete responses for the subjects are shown in Fig. 4.5.

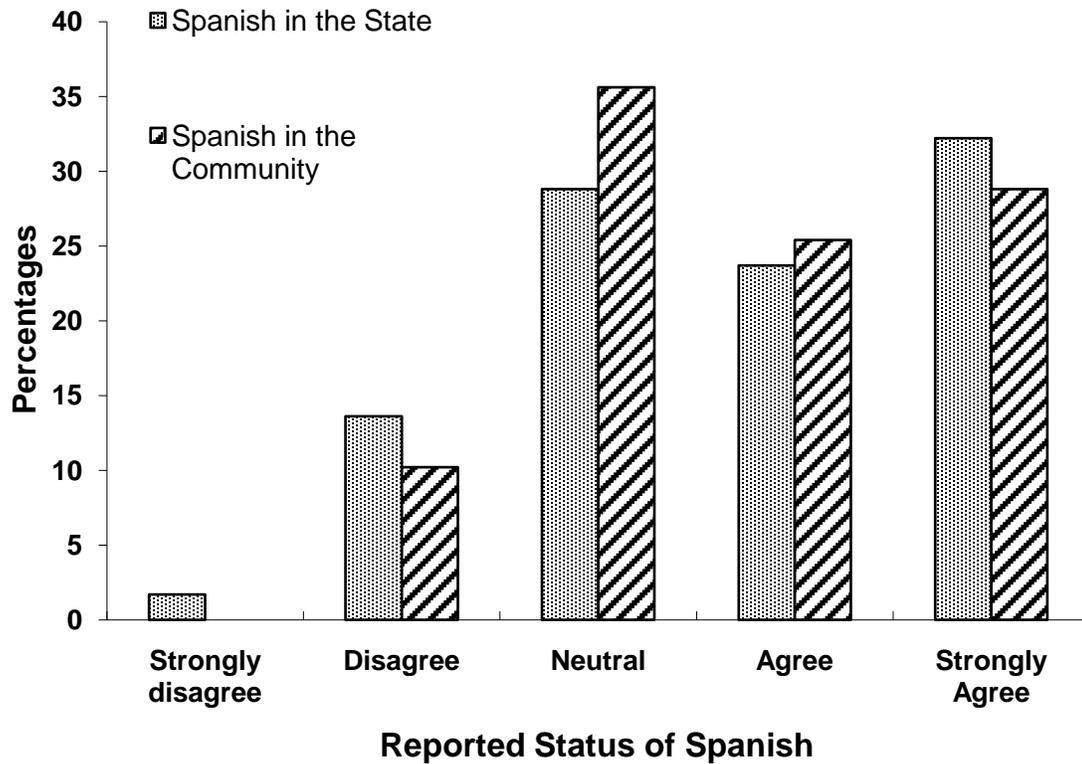


Figure 4.5. Distribution for frequencies for the two instrument items that addressed the subjects' perception of the status of Spanish.

Research Question 2

Is there a difference in background between heritage speakers of Spanish and heritage students of Spanish?

This question had eight items shared by both instruments completed by heritage speakers of Spanish:

Item 1: gender

Item 2: major

Item 4: languages spoken by parents

Item 5: languages heard at home

Item 6: languages spoken by extended family

Item 7: languages spoken by friends

Item 8: languages you understand

Item 9: languages you speak

Additionally, there were three items present only in questionnaire A (see Appendix A).

Item 3: instructor

Item 10: City and state you grew up

Item 11: city and state you live in now

One of these items was only relevant for those already enrolled in Spanish classes at the university level. The remaining two were deleted from questionnaire B for reasons of brevity and elicitation of maximum response among the volunteers, i.e. to avoid overwhelming the volunteers with an instrument that seemed too long. Consequently, student questionnaire A had eleven items inquiring about the heritage speaker's background and student questionnaire B had eight items focusing on the same question.

The first item in this question was 'gender', and it has already been shown to lack significance among the groups. Gender was presented as a variable during the description of the sample population and there are no new findings to report given the results already presented. There is no correlation between gender and likelihood of studying Spanish among Heritage speakers of Spanish.

Including gender, an analysis of Chi-square was used with the data for this research question about background of HSSP and HSTS subjects. Among all the items considered for this query, the item of 'language spoken by friends' showed the only significant difference among the groups (See Table 4.4). The Chi-square test showed a

significant difference in language spoken by friends between HSTS and HSSA subjects ($\chi^2_{(8)} = 13.844, p = .086$). The HSTS subjects reported having many more friends that spoke only English compared to the responses given by the HSSA group, which reported having no single friends who spoke only English or only Spanish. Bilingualism was a dominant feature among friends of HSSA subjects and it was also dominant, but less markedly among the statistically insignificant sample population of HSS subjects. All of the friends of the HSSA group are reportedly bilingual, and 40.741% of the friends of the HSTS group speak only one language, primarily English. (See Fig. 4.6)

Table 4.4

Chi-square results for common background items in the student instruments, research question 2.

Background	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Gender	2	.171
Major	18	.749
Languages spoken by parents	14	.850
Languages heard at home	12	.429
Languages spoken by extended family	12	.815
Languages spoken by friends	8	.086*
Languages you understand	8	.553
Languages you speak	8	.205

Note. * $p < .05$

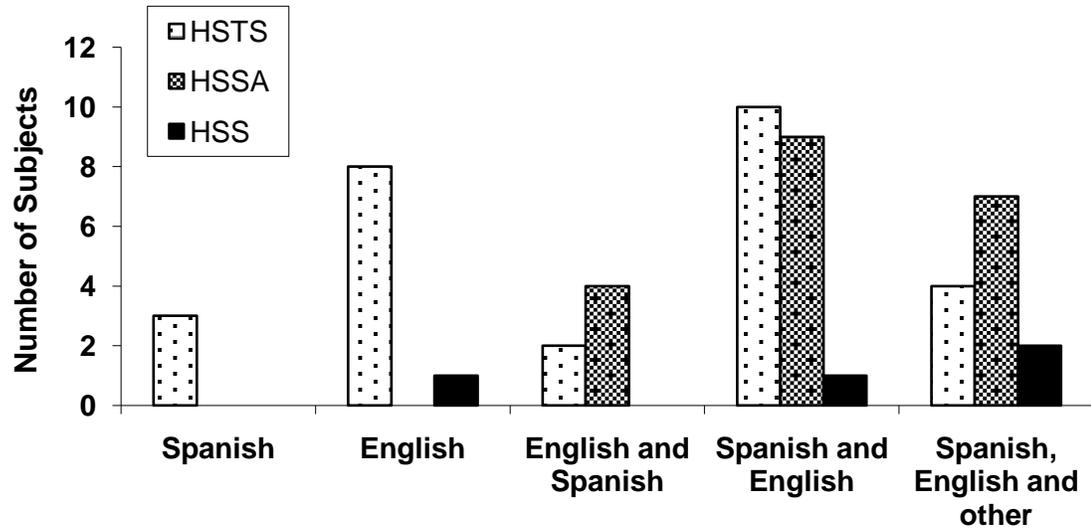


Figure 4.6. Distribution of languages heard by subjects as reported for background items.

After gender, major was examined. Item No. 2 (See Appendices A and B)

indicated that there were no significant differences among majors reported between the three groups. The HSTS group conveyed the same amount of education majors (2) as the HSSA subjects. The major that was named most often was Business, both in the case of HSTS (6) and HSSA (4) subjects. The major that was mentioned the least was Spanish, with only one person in the HSTS group and none among the HSSA subjects. There was an equal balance of various majors in Humanities, with two subjects among the HSSA and three in the HSTS group. There were three Biology students in the HSTS group and none in the HSSA group. Psychology was mentioned less often than Business, but it still captured a significant percentage of subjects among HSTS (4) and HSSA (2) students. Criminal Justice and Communications were equally represented in the data collected: HSTS had two students from each major and HSSA had one student from each of the two majors. Four subjects left this item blank.

Data for the five items of 'language spoken by parents', 'languages heard at home', 'languages spoken by extended family', 'languages you understand', and 'languages you speak' were combined (Table 4.5). Due to the lack of significant differences in these items, a combined presentation will aid with the identification of trends. One of the salient trends shown in Table 4.5 is that no HSSA subject claimed to have a monolingual English-speaking parent. Also, in the same group there were no parents identified as speaking a language other than English or Spanish. The students in the HSTS group had a slightly smaller number of Spanish speaking parents (10) when compared to the HSSA subjects (11). Finally, more students in the HSSA group grew up listening only to Spanish or Spanish and English (15) when compared to the HSTS group, which indicated a larger number of participants who grew up listening to English or English and Spanish (13). The HSSA group reported a total of only three subjects who grew up under those same linguistic conditions of English or English and Spanish.

There were three items present only in student A questionnaire, those referred to the name of the instructor, and the place of current residence, as well as where the subjects grew up. Regarding the item about where they grew up (Fig. 4.7), the HSTS group reported that there was a significant percentage (22.2%) of students who grew up in Latin America, with the majority of those reporting South America as their place of origin. The largest percentage (37%) was of subjects who grew up in the Northeast, closely followed by South Florida (33.3%). All of the subjects reported South Florida as their current official area of residence.

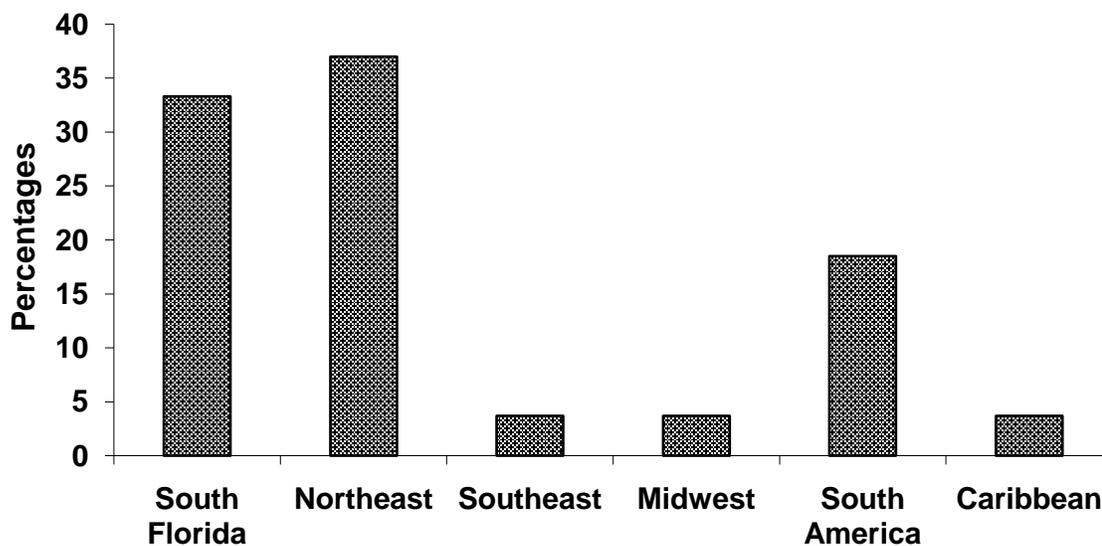


Figure 4.7. Distribution of percentages among the subjects and their reported places where they grew up.

The last item of this question is No 3, which inquired about the instructor's name. This item is only applicable to the HSTS group. There were 12 subjects in Instructor A's class and 17 subjects in Instructor B's class. These data were collected in case there was a justification for an analysis within the HSTS with the instructor as the variable. Since the main objective was culture and enrollment in Spanish courses among heritage speakers of Spanish, no subsequent analysis was required for the present study.

Table 4.5

Combined Results for Five Background Items Common to Subjects

Range of responses	Languages spoken by parents			Languages heard at home			Language spoken by extended family			Languages you understand			Languages spoken		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Spanish	10	11	1	7	9	1	14	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
English	3	0	0	5	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	4	1	0
Spanish and English	7	5	2	6	6	2	2	4	1	6	6	2	8	9	2
English and Spanish	4	4	0	8	2	0	5	1	0	14	10	0	11	13	0
Spanish, English and other	2	1	0	-	-	-	2	1	0	7	4	2	4	1	2
Spanish and other	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
English and other	0	1	0	1	0	0	-	-	-	0	1	0	1	1	0

Research question 2.a. What is the importance of friends and family in pursuing the study of Spanish? Each of the instruments contained one item shared by both student questionnaires. In addition, student A questionnaire had two more items that included their experience as students of Spanish at the university level. Student B questionnaire included one more item, for a total of two items directed at answering research question 2.a.

The question of the role of friends and family as factors in the decision to study Spanish for heritage speakers at the university level was partially answered in research question 2 in reference to the variable of friends. The main finding was that there was only one difference in background between HSTS and HSSA, and it was the feature of ‘friends’. Those enrolled in Spanish classes reported having many more friends who spoke only English, compared to the report of no friends who were English monolinguals among the HSSA group.

The data for this section was compiled through four items (See Appendices A and B), but only one was common to both students’ questionnaires. The mutual item was No 49 “My family in general encourages me to study Spanish”; descriptive statistics as well as analysis of variance were run on this item. The resulting value was not a significant one $F(2,56) = 0.442, p = .645$. Considering that there were no significant differences among groups, the results for this item will be reported as a single group of heritage speakers of Spanish. This item showed that 49% of subjects responded ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’, 30.5% chose ‘neutral’ and 20.4% of the subjects chose either ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’. The largest number of responses for a single option was ‘neutral’ with 18 subjects, closely followed by ‘strongly agree’ with 17 subjects, indicating a

virtual tie. When the ANOVA test was run for this item, the mean response for HSTS was 3.517, slightly above 'neutral' and the standard deviation was 1.404, indicative of a wide range of responses, as is confirmed by the maximum and minimum values (1-5). The HSSA group had a mean response that closely mirrored that of the HSTS subjects, 3.615, also slightly above 'neutral' and a bit closer to 'agree'. The standard deviation (1.022) was also indicative of the variety of responses. Although no subject responded 'strongly disagree', all other possible answers were found in the data (1-4). Finally, the HSS subjects showed the smallest standard variation (0.816), which is also translated into no responses in the extremes: no 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree' answers. The values ranged between 2 and 4 with a mean value of 3. The answers indicated an average choice of 'neutral'.

Item 50 "I think that my family noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes of Spanish I have taken at the university" was present only in student A questionnaire. The HSTS subjects had a predominant mean response of 'neutral' with a mean of 3.241. The second concentration of answers was 'strongly agree' followed by 'agree'. The standard deviation for this item was 1.272 (answers in all five options). Item 51, which was also in student A questionnaire only, "I think that my friends noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes in Spanish I have taken at the university", had a mean response of 'neutral'. This mean is almost identical to item 50, with a mean equal to 3.206. Equally the standard deviation was 1.292 as the responses ranged from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' and the largest combined percentage of responses was 'agree' and 'strongly agree' with 37.931 % of the subjects' responses.

Finally, item 61 was only present in student B questionnaire: “My family thinks that American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture”. The mean response was 4.133, equivalent to ‘agree’ with a polarized range of responses. Two subjects (6.667%) chose ‘completely disagree’ and five chose ‘neutral’ (16.667%); the rest of the HSSA subjects chose ‘strongly agree’, with 50% of the responses. A chart combined the responses for all these items (see Fig 4.8), as there is no justification for individual tables indicating statistically significant results for each item in this research question.

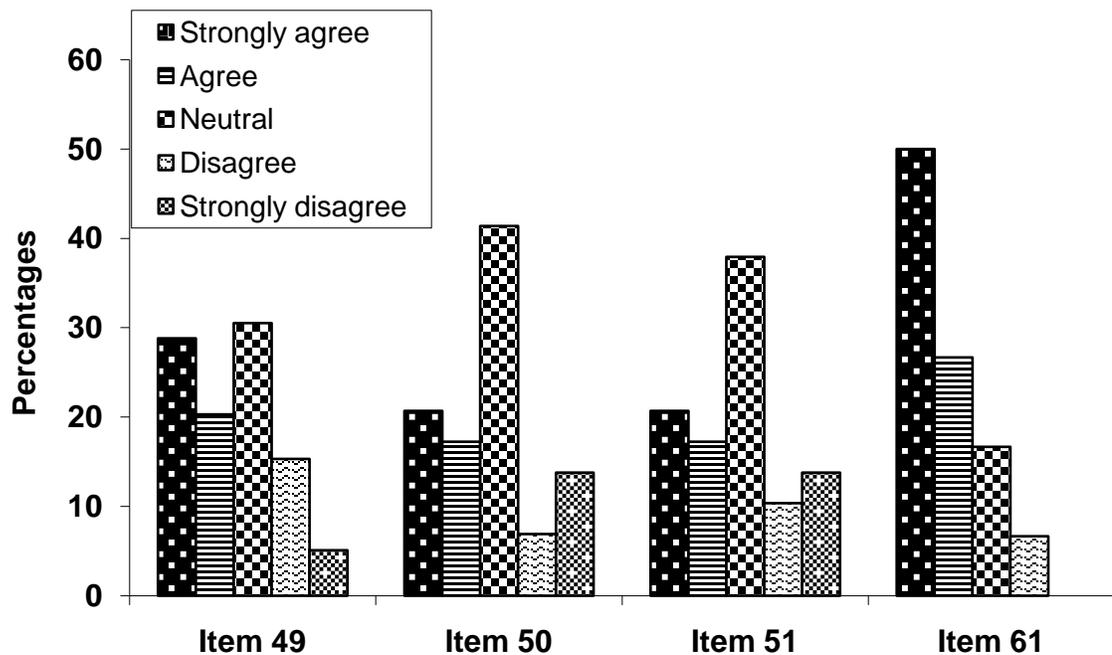


Figure 4.8. Distribution of the percentages on the importance of family and friends on pursuing Spanish studies.

Research question 2.b. How important are past experiences in the language classroom in predicting HSSP’s intention to continue studying Spanish? In order to answer this, there were three items common to both instruments. One more was present in student B questionnaire, for a total of four items in that instrument. An analysis of

variance, as well as frequencies and descriptive statistics were run on the data collected from the common items in the student instruments. There was one statistically significant item that differentiated the answers of the HSTS and HSSA subjects: the degree of satisfaction with past classroom experiences at the high school level.

First, descriptive statistics were run on the three items that were common to all groups of heritage speakers of Spanish. These items were: “I took Spanish courses in high school” (item No. 56), “In general, I am happy I took Spanish courses in high school” (item No. 57), and “Have past experiences in Spanish courses at FAU influenced your desire to continue studying Spanish?” (item No. 58). A separate descriptive analysis was run for the item present only in students B questionnaire: “Because of my experience with Spanish courses in high school, I decided not to study it anymore” (item No. 59).

For the item ‘took Spanish in high school’ the HSSA subjects reported the highest rate of agreement with a mean answer that was above ‘agree’ ($M = 4.307$). For that same item the HSTS group reported the lowest mean answer ($M = 3.857$), with a mean answer that was technically ‘agree’ but hovered below it. The range of variation for this item among all groups comprised all possible answers, which is reflected in the standard variation value. Among all subjects, the largest percentage was either ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with 76.3% of the responses and 17% of the subjects ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ with this item.

The item ‘happy I took Spanish in high school’ again had the lowest mean among HSTS subjects, equivalent to ‘agree’ by approximation ($M = 3.892$). The range of responses varied, covering the entire scope of possible choices. Those not enrolled in Spanish classes (HSSA) reported the highest degrees of satisfaction, indicated by an

answer close to 'strongly agree' ($M = 4.461$). Among the HSSA subjects the standard variation was low ($SD = 0.811$), indicating that the bulk of the answers were indeed 'agree' or 'strongly agree'. This item on degree of satisfaction with past classroom experiences was shown to be significant in the subsequent ANOVA results presented in Table 4.5.

The last item shared by all subjects was 'influential earlier educational experience' with the lowest reported means among all three groups. In a response highly consistent with the previous two items, the HSSA group had a slightly above 'neutral' response, with a high degree of standard deviation ($SD = 1.238$). Again, in a show of reliability, the HSTS subjects had a higher mean for this item, slightly above 'neutral' ($M = 3.172$) yet not significantly higher than those of the subjects not enrolled in Spanish classes. The results for the HSS subjects are reported but cannot be considered as comparable outcome to those for the HSTS and HSSA groups. An ANOVA test was run on the three items shared in the students' instruments is shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Analysis of Variance for Past Educational Experience as a Factor in Continuing Spanish Studies

Past educational experience	Group <i>df</i>		Group <i>MS</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
	Between	Within	Between	Within		
Took Spanish in high school	2	55	1.379	2.199	0.627	.538
Happy I took Spanish in high school	2	55	2.814	0.871	3.231	.047 *
Influential earlier educational experience	2	56	2.671	1.451	1.841	.168

Note. * $p < .05$

The results for all four items were combined into one single table (See table 4.7) and the significant result was $F(2, 55) = 3.231, p = .047$. The last and fourth item, present only in student B questionnaire, was item 59: “Because of my experience with Spanish courses in high school, I decided to continue studying English”. Exactly half (50%) of the subjects in the HSSA group responded either ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ to this item, with a larger concentration on ‘strongly disagree’. Only 16.666% of subjects agreed or strongly agreed with this item, which is the same as five subjects out of a total of 30. Lastly, one third (33.333%) of the sample population for this item reported a ‘neutral’ response about this statement.

Table 4.7

Descriptive Statistics for the Significance of Past Learning Experiences in Deciding to Study Spanish at FAU.

Past educational experience	Mean			Standard deviation			Sample size		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Took Spanish in high school	3.857	4.307	4	1.175	1.086	2	28	26	4
Happy I took Spanish in high school	3.892	4.4615	4.750	1.065	0.811	0.500	28	26	4
Influential earlier educational experience	3.172	2.576	3.250	1.226	1.238	0.500	29	26	4
Because of high school ceased studies in Spanish	-	2.533	2.533	-	1.306	1.306	-	26	4

Research Question 3

What is the role of cultural identity in increasing the enrollment of HSSP in heritage courses?

The aim of this question is to single out potential aspects of cultural identity that may have a correlation or predictive effect between heritage speakers and their intention to study their heritage language at the university level. This question had two sub-questions that looked at different and complementary aspects of the more general research question. These sub-questions explored potential associations between bilingualism and bicultural memberships. The subjects had an opportunity to list their reasons to enroll or not in language courses for heritage speakers.

Research question 3.a. Do heritage speakers of Spanish see a connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups? The items for this question were separated into four different groups that examined membership to more than culture, interdependence of language and culture, introspection about dual cultural membership, and the contrasts (if any) between American and Latin American cultures. The HSSA instrument (questionnaire) contained a few more items on these issues than the HSSA instruments; this compromise was reached in order to keep the extension of the questionnaires at a manageable size for the respondents. The HSTS instrument had a larger amount of questions about classroom dynamics that were not present in the HSSA or HSS instruments (the HSSA and HSS instruments were identical). Descriptive statistics and frequencies were run on the subsets of data and an analysis of variance was performed on the combined data of all the sub-sets of data for question 3.a.

The first sub-grouping of items delved into the first aspect of research question 3.a: Do the subjects seem themselves as members of two cultures? If so, how do they feel about it? Descriptive statistics and frequencies were run on the data collected from the two items that were common to both student instruments (items 25 and 26). A separate but similar analysis was done on a third item that was only present in student B questionnaire.

Items 25 and 26 were respectively “I think I belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American” and “I like belonging to more than one culture”. According to the descriptive statistics there were no significant differences (See Table 4.8). The majority of the responses were ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with 83.1% of the subjects’ preferences. The group with the highest mean answer was HSS ($M = 4.5$) but those results cannot be considered on equal footing with the other two groups. Among the two statistically equivalent groups, HSSA subjects were very close to the HSS results with $M = 4.384$. HSTS subjects had a comparatively, but not significantly, lower mean ($M = 4.069$). The widest range of responses was seen in the HSTS groups, with a standard deviation of 0.961. Item 26 ‘I like belonging to more than one culture’ also had a high mean, with 91.5% of subjects from all groups responding ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ and only two subjects had a negative response ‘disagree’ (3.4%). Among groups, the mean responses were high, with HSTS subjects scoring the highest mean ($M = 4.620$) and a low standard variation ($sd = 0.115$). For this item there were only three subjects (5.1%) who felt ‘neutral’ on the issue.

Item 60 was only present in student B questionnaire: “I think I belong to more than one culture” and it was different from item 25 ‘belong to more than one culture,

Spanish and American' in degree of specificity. The mean response for this item was also positive ($M = 4.233$), indicative that the largest percentage of subjects (83.4%) 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with this item, but it had more polarity in the subjects' responses. The percentage of heritage speakers of Spanish who 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' was 13.3% and only one subject responded 'neutral'. Item 60 was not present in the analysis of variance test as that test can only be performed with means of more than one group. (see table 4.9)

The second sub-grouping of items surveyed the subjects' insight into their own opinions on the possible interdependence of language and culture (see Table 4.8). Items 28, 30, 31 and 46 pertained to this matter. Because they were a relatively higher concentration of items for one sub-grouping of items, a Cronbach's alpha test was run in order to test for internal consistency. The result was $\alpha = .786$ and a value greater than .700 indicates the grouping of items is testing for the same issue and the subjects are responding with veracity. These items were in both instruments and they were coded as 'language-culture-fusion', based on the combined impetus of "I think one cannot learn a language without learning about culture", "I think it is vital to learn about culture in order to learn a language", "I think that culture and language are impossible to separate from each other", and "learning about culture is as important as learning about grammar"

Descriptive statistics for these four items indicated a slightly higher mean response among HSTS than HSSA subjects (see Table 4.8), but there is no significant difference. Both groups had a similar mean response between 'neutral' and 'agree' (HSTS $M = 3.775$ and HSSA $M = 3.634$). In all four items there was an 'agree' or 'strongly agree' response among at least 54% of the subjects. The item (30) that got the

highest percentage (66.1%) of affirmative responses was 'it is vital to learn about culture to learn about language' and the item that got the smallest percentage of 'agree' or 'strongly agree' was 'language and culture are inseparable' (54.2%). The same item No. 30 got the lowest percentage of 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' with only 8.5% or five subjects. The item that got the highest percentage of 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' was item 28 'cannot learn a language without culture'. 'Languages and culture' (item 31) got the highest concentration of 'neutral' responses with 18 subjects, or 30.5% choosing this option.

The third sub-group observed the degree of introspection about dual cultural membership with the inclusion of two items (27 and 38) for this purpose (see Table 4.8). There needs to be at least three, ideally four or more items, for the same question, so internal consistency was not tested. Item 27 "I think that I have a good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture" indicated rather uniform means between the groups (see Table 4.8), all above 'agree' among the participating groups. The range of responses for this item was more limited than that of other items under research question 3.a. This item had a very high concentration of 'agree' or 'strongly agree', comprising 86.4% of all answers. Only 1.7% of the subjects disagreed, and no subjects chose 'strongly disagree'. The single subject that responded 'disagree' to this item was a member of the HSSA group.

The item "Because I speak two languages, I think about the differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish speaking culture" (38) showed no significant differences among groups. The HSSA group had the lowest mean, $M = 3.961$, but it was equal to the mean of HSTS, $M = 4.137$. The standard variation was highest in

the HSTS group. 77.6% of the responses were 'agree' or 'strongly agree', with the largest number of replies being 'strongly agree' and only one subject, in the HSTS group, chose 'strongly disagree'.

The fourth and last sub-group which considers the contrasts, if any, between the American and Latin American cultures was reflected in one item, No 41, "I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with". The mean response was 'agree' for all groups and the variation of means among groups was minimal (see Table 4.8). The standard variation was also low for all participating groups of heritage speakers of Spanish. 'Neutral' was chosen 20.3% of the time; there were no 'strongly disagree' responses and only 5.1% 'disagreed' (3 subjects).

Table 4.8

Descriptive Statistics for Whether Heritage Speakers of Spanish See a Connection between Bilingualism and Membership to Multiple Cultural Groups

Items in Instrument	Mean			Standard deviation			Sample size		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American	4.069	4.384	4.500	0.961	0.897	0.577	29	26	4
Like belonging to more than one culture	4.620	4.461	4.500	0.621	0.859	1.000	29	26	4
Language-culture-fusion (items 28, 30, 31, 46)	3.775	3.634	3.375	0.897	0.925	1.163	29	26	4
Good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture	4.275	4.423	4.750	0.751	0.808	0.500	29	26	4
Because of bilingualism, I contrast the two cultures	4.137	3.961	4	1.029	0.999	0	29	26	4
I think American and Spanish cultures are very different	4.103	4.076	4	0.9	0.934	0.816	29	26	4

An analysis of variance was done with the data from all the items previously described here, with the exception of item 60 'I belong to more than one culture', because it was present in only half of the instruments; it was part of the HSSA instrument, with only one set of means available it is not possible to conduct ANOVA analyses. There were no significant values to report for this analysis (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9

Analysis of Variance for the Connection between Bilingualism and Membership to Multiple Cultural Groups

Items in instrument	Group <i>df</i>		Group <i>MS</i>		<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
	Between	Within	Between	Within		
Belong to more than one culture, American and Spanish	2	56	0.831	0.840	.990	.378
Like belonging to more than one culture	2	56	0.177	0.577	.308	.736
Language-culture-fusion	2	56	0.345	0.857	.402	.671
Good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture	2	56	0.454	0.587	.772	.467
Because of bilingualism, I contrast the two cultures	2	55	0.218	1.062	.205	.815
I think American and Spanish cultures are very different	2	56	0.020	0.831	.024	.976

Note. * $p < .05$

Research question 3.b. What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision to study Spanish at the university level? This item was included in student A questionnaire only (See appendix A) and it read: “What are your reasons for taking this Spanish course? Please assign a number according to importance 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number”. It was followed by a list of ten items plus ‘other’. This item had a different format. Instead of having the Likert-type scale used for most of the items in the instrument, a ranking scale was used. The subjects could assign a value from one to five to statements written about their reasons to study Spanish at the university level. The results were treated as Likert-type scale results. Descriptive statistics as well as frequencies were run on these ten items (see Table 4.10). There were eleven items; one of them was left blank for the subjects to include a reason they felt should be part of the list. No subject responded to this option, leaving us with data from ten and not eleven items.

The reason most often selected as number one was “to improve my professional opportunities” and only one person (3.6%) selected it as a least important reason. 18 (64.3%) out of 28 subjects chose it as the most important reason to take Spanish. The reason chosen as least representative of their intentions in studying Spanish was ‘access to media’ with a lower number of respondents than those who responded in any way to the most representative item chosen. 54.5% of subjects chose the media item as least or less important.

The reason ‘to feel closer to my culture’ was ranked fifth and received a combined percentage of 50% among those who saw it as more and most important. Those who chose ‘to gain a standard dialect, mine is too casual’ were only 33.33% with the

majority (54.1%) responding that it was not an important matter. This response is most interesting, considering that the main objective stated in one of the FAU language instructor's syllabus was "El curso tiene como objetivo principal familiarizar al (a la) estudiante con la variedad escrita y formal del español..."

There were two statements that elicited the least amount of responses: "To understand my Spanish heritage" and "To expand my knowledge of Spanish history and culture." Twenty-one subjects (75%) responded to this item and when they did, they rated it with a wide distribution of responses. There were as many subjects (38.1%) interested in 'understanding Spanish heritage' as there were those who felt neutral (38.1%) about it. There were more polarized results with the 'expansion of Spanish history and culture' item. Almost half (47.6%) of the subjects chose it as more or most important, more than a quarter (28.6%) had no particular opinion for or against this item, and 23.8% felt it was least or less important.

Table 4.10

Descriptive Statistics for Reasons to Take Spanish among Heritage Students of Spanish

Reasons to take Spanish courses	Mean	Standard deviation	Sample size	Ranking
To better communicate with my family	3.178	1.588	28	7
To improve professional opportunities	4.392	1.065	28	1
To feel closer to my culture	3.333	1.372	24	5
Communication in native country	3.629	1.497	27	2
Access to media	2.272	1.453	22	10
Contentment about linguistic skills	3.555	1.310	27	3
Understanding of Spanish heritage	3.285	1.383	21	6
Expansion of Spanish history and culture	3.476	1.249	21	4
Meet people like myself	2.760	1.535	25	8
Gain a standard dialect, mine is too casual	2.583	1.717	20	9

Note. Highest and lowest ranked items for this group (HSTS) are in bold.

Research question 3.c. What are the reasons students select as most and least significant in their decision not to study Spanish at the university level?

This item was exclusive to student B questionnaire (See appendix B). It had 14 sentences (see table 4.11) for the subjects to rank according to how closely those sentences reflected their reasons for avoiding Spanish classes at FAU. The item read: “What are your reasons for not taking Spanish for heritage speakers at this university? Please assign a number according to importance: 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number’. The format was not overtly a Likert-scale, yet it was designed with that rating principle in mind. The resulting data were treated and coded in the same manner as the data collected through Likert-scale items.

An analysis of frequencies combined with descriptive statistics (Table 4.11) indicated that the sentence most often chosen as the main reason not to enroll in Spanish classes was “I don’t like the Spanish language” with all (92%) but two subjects responding to it as their number one reason. The response to this item was the most uniform answer any sentence under this item received and it has a mean response (4.760) equivalent to ‘most agree’. Sentence number one was had the most widespread index of variations. It read “I don’t need to learn Spanish, I am very happy with my level of knowledge” with equal amounts of subjects either responding ‘least’ or ‘less important’ (40.7%) or ‘more’ and ‘most important’. This same item (No. 1) was the one chosen last (14) as their reasons to stay away from Spanish courses at FAU. The mean response to this item was 3.000, the equivalent to ‘neutral’.

Sentence No. 13 “I don’t like the formal way of teaching language, with so much grammar” elicited a wide variety of responses, with 22.2% of subjects stating that it was ‘least’ or ‘less important’, 18% responded ‘neutral’ and 59.2% chose ‘more’ or ‘most important’. This type of wide distribution was only surpassed by the sentence that was ranked 14 among the choices. Sentence No. 13 was second to last in ranking as well, placing as 13 in the order of reasons chosen by the subjects.

The subjects chose 13 out of 14 sentences as either ‘most’ or ‘more important’ and only one sentence had a negative response. No one has a ‘neutral’ response. No sentences had a mean equivalent to ‘less’ or ‘least important’. As indicated by sample size and in contrast to the similar item (studied in research question 3.b) included in the student A questionnaire, most subjects responded to all or most sentences under this item (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11

Descriptive Statistics for Reasons not to Take Spanish among Heritage Speakers of Spanish

Reasons not to take Spanish courses	Mean	Standard deviation	Sample size	Ranking
I am happy with what I know	3.000	1.709	27	14
Not relevant for professional opportunities	4.576	1.205	26	3
Not relevant in personal life	4.384	1.387	26	6
Don't like Spanish	4.760	0.879	25	1
Avoidance of negative stereotypes	4.076	1.598	26	11
Preference of more prestigious languages	4.115	1.107	26	10
High school experience	4.200	1.290	25	9
Experience with high school instructor	4.480	1.084	25	4
Bad experiences about their own dialects	4.280	1.275	25	7
Not good with languages	4.440	1.260	25	5
None of my friends are doing it	4.40	1.368	25	12
Not interested	4.222	1.395	27	8

Table 4.11 (Continued)

Reasons not to take Spanish courses	Mean	Standard deviation	Sample size	Ranking
Too much grammar, too formal	3.629	1.305	27	13
Done already, did not like it.	4.600	0.957	25	2

Note. Highest and lowest ranked items for this group (HSSA) are in bold.

Research Question 4

How is culture understood and presented in the language classroom?

This last research item was approached as a three-sided question. The roles of language instructor, syllabus, and textbook were examined in order to determine their significance in the students' understanding of culture, as well as the potential link of each of the three aspects in engaging and maintaining the heritage speakers' interest in their heritage language.

Research question 4.a. Is there a correlation between the instructor's opinions and the students' views on language and culture?

A total of 21 items were considered for this question, this list included all items that made reference to culture and were present, in identical format (See Appendices A and C), in the two instruments under consideration, which were student A questionnaire and instructor questionnaire. Correlations as well as T-tests were run on the data; frequencies were also collected, and those frequencies will be reported when pertinent to the findings being highlighted by the T-tests. All of the items considered for this research question were in Likert-scale format. The data collected from the HSTS group was

separated into two groups and compared to their corresponding language instructor's responses. The means for each sub-group of HSTS were compared to the data collected from the instructors'. The language instructor's response was compared to the subjects' mean response with a T-test.

Instructor A's responses were compared to those of the subjects participating in this study who were in her Spanish for heritage speakers' class. In order to better manage the abundance of data, the instructor's responses were grouped by answers, one group for 'strongly agree', another for 'agree', etc, and, then, compared to the corresponding mean answers of the students' data. An item by item approach was rejected due to the potential for reporting large amounts of statistically insignificant data.

The items discussed earlier under research question 1 were again considered for this part of question 4.a, and they were treated in sub-groups. When culture was defined with items representative of the so-called 'Olympian' culture, as was the case for items 13 and 21 (See Appendix A) 'culture represented by history' and 'culture represented by the fine arts', they were paired together. The common response given by instructor A: 'agree', to those same items also justified the grouping. The instructor had a more favorable response than the students, as they reported a mean response of 3.555 for item No. 13 and 3.888 for item No. 21.

When culture was defined in consistency with its more anthropological definition, hearthstone culture, there was much more variation. The instructor responded 3, 'neutral' to the following items:

- Item 15: Culture represented by values and attitudes
- Item 16: Culture represented by the way people interact

- Item 18: Culture represented by daily life
- Item 19: Culture represented by leisure time activities
- Item 22: Culture represented by famous persons

The students' responses showed varying means (See Table 4.12). At the extremes, 'culture represented by values and attitudes' had a response equivalent to 'agree', $M = 4.333$, and 'culture represented by famous persons' had a 'disagree' answer, $M = 2.777$. There was one item that closely resembled the definition of hearthstone culture. It received a 'strongly agree' response from instructor A. The item was No. 14, 'culture represented by customs, traditions, holidays'. Students also chose that item (No. 14) highly on their scale, with a mean response of 4.333, above 'agree'.

Table 4.12

T-test of Students and Instructor A's Definition of Culture in "Hearthstone" Terms

Items in instrument	Test value = 3				<i>M</i> <i>Difference</i>
	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>M</i>	
Culture represented by values and attitudes	5.657	8	.000	4.333	1.333
Culture represented by the way people interact	5.500	8	.001	4.222	1.222
Culture represented by daily life	2.41	8	.043	3.777	0.777
Culture represented by leisure time activities	2.874	8	.021	3.888	0.888
Culture represented by famous persons	-1.000	8	.347	2.777	-0.222

Note. * $p < .05$

Item No. 20, “culture represented by the media”, got a lower response from language instructor A, ‘disagree’ ($M = 2$), than it did from the students, ‘neutral’ ($M = 3.666$). This difference is more marked when asked about government and politics (item No. 17). Instructor A rated the item (No. 17), ‘Culture represented by government and politics’, as ‘strongly disagree’ ($M = 1$). The students responded ‘neutral’ to the same item ($M = 3.222$).

The two items that addressed the status of the Spanish language, discussed earlier among the data collected from all the heritage speakers, had differing answers from language instructor A, but very similar means among the students. To item No. 23 ‘Spanish has a good status in the state’ the instructor responded ‘agree’, but the students chose a mean response equivalent to ‘neutral’ ($M = 3.777$) with a tendency towards ‘agree’. The difference was evident when the second item related to the status of Spanish: No. 24, ‘Spanish has a good status in their community’, was compared. Instructor A was ‘neutral’ while the students again showed a mean response ‘neutral’ with a tendency towards ‘agree’ ($M = 3.555$).

The items that addressed questions of cultural identity, considered in research question 3.a, were re-examined in order to discern any correspondence between the instructor and the students’ opinions. Seven items were considered: (See Appendix A for the full format):

- Item 26: ‘Like belonging to more than one culture’
- Item 28: ‘Cannot learn a language without culture’
- Item 29: ‘Instructor thinks that one cannot learn a language without learning culture’

- Item 30: ‘Vital to learn about culture to learn language’
- Item 31: ‘Language and culture are inseparable’
- Item 41: ‘I think American and Spanish cultures are very different’
- Item 46: ‘Learning about culture is as important as grammar’

Each item was compared to instructor A’s responses. The students average responses were compared to the instructor’s using a T-test.

Item No. 26 showed no significant difference. Students averaged an ‘agree’ response with a strong tendency towards ‘strongly agree’ ($M = 4.555$). Instructor A responded ‘strongly agree’. Item No. 29 shows that the students are attuned to the instructor’s opinions: with a mean answer 4.111, the students ‘agreed’ with ‘instructor thinks that one cannot learn a language without learning culture’. The instructor’s response to the equivalent item (No. 28 in the instructor’s questionnaire) was ‘strongly agree’ for the same item. Finally, item No. 41 had related answers among students and their instructor. Student had an average response of ‘agree’ ($M = 4.000$). The instructor was also positive about this item, with a ‘strongly agree’ answer.

Items No. 28, 30, 31, and 46 are closely related and speak to the subjects’ thoughts on the language-culture dyad. Item No. 28 presented a difference of opinions. Students had a response average ‘neutral’ ($M = 3.666$) while instructor A responded ‘strongly agree’. Item No. 30 showed a smaller discrepancy, yet not a move in the opposite direction. Students’ averaged an ‘agree’ response, while the instructor responded ‘strongly agree’. All subjects felt positive about this item on the significance of learning language *and* culture. Item No. 31 had equivalent responses among students and instructor A. Students had an average choice ‘neutral’ with a strong tendency towards

‘agree’ ($M = 3.888$). The instructor responded ‘agree’. The last item of the four in this group, No. 46, had the strongest dissonance between the students and instructor’s responses. Students had an average response of ‘neutral’ ($M = 2.22$) and the instructor was at the end of the scale, with a ‘strongly agree’ response.

Item No. 40 in student A questionnaire was compared to item No. 41 in the instructor’s questionnaire (See Appendix A). Item No. 40 was ‘My instructor thinks that American and Spanish cultures are very different’ and item No. 41 was “I think American and Spanish cultures are very different’ (in the instructor’s instrument). The intention was to determine how perceptive the students are to their instructor’s opinions. In this case, the responses tended to correspond. Students had an average response ‘agree’ leaning to ‘strongly agree’ ($M = 4.333$) and the instructor chose ‘strongly agree’ for item 41.

Item No. 53 in the student A questionnaire was also compared to a different item in the instructor’s instrument, item No. 76. Item No. 53 read ‘I use Spanish every chance I get’ and item No. 76 was ‘I think some students are embarrassed of their Spanish’. The students chose ‘agree’ leaning towards ‘strongly agree’ ($M = 4.667$). The instructor also had an ‘agree’ answer. In this case, the results must be reversed since agreeing with item No. 76 is indicative of the contrary to item No. 53. Consequently, the instructor disagreed with the students’ assessment of their ease with Spanish.

A look at instructor B’s responses resulted in different groups of responses. The students’ answers were again grouped into means in order to permit a more significant comparison. The instructor’s responses were sorted according to each of the five possible answers, and then compared to the means of the students’ data. Again, an item by item

approach was unnecessary due to the potential for reporting large amounts of statistically insignificant data.

The items discussed during research question 1 were considered for this part of research question 4.a and they were divided in sub-groups. When culture was defined in terms of ‘hearthstone’ culture, items No. 14, 15, 16, 18, and 19 were grouped together. Item No. 21 is not consistent with this rationale, but it received the same value as did the previous items, hence, the inclusion in the group:

Item 14: ‘culture represented by customs, traditions, holidays’

Item 15: ‘culture represented by values and attitudes’

Item 16: ‘culture represented by the way people interact’

Item 18: ‘culture represented by daily life’

Item 19: ‘culture is represented by leisure time activities’

Item 21: ‘culture represented by the fine arts’

The students’ responses were more attuned to their language instructors’ responses than was observed for instructor A and her class. Instructor B chose ‘agree’ for all these items. Students responses indicated some degree of variation (See Table 4.13), with item No. 14 indicating the highest average response of ‘agree’ with a tendency towards ‘strongly agree’ ($M = 4.500$). At the bottom of the ranking, item No. 19 received an average response of ‘neutral’ with a tendency towards ‘agree’ ($M = 3.642$).

Table 4.13

T-test of Students and Instructor B's definition of Culture mainly in "Hearthstone"

Terms.

Items in instrument	Test value = 3			M	M Difference
	t	df	p		
Culture represented by customs, traditions, holidays	2.188	13	.047	4.500	.500
Culture represented by values and attitudes	1.075	13	.302	4.285	.285
Culture represented by the way people interact	0.322	13	.752	4.071	.714
Culture represented by daily life	0.520	13	.612	4.142	.142
Culture represented by leisure time activities	-1.794	13	.096	3.642	-.357
Culture represented by the fine arts	0	13	1	4	0

*Note. *p < .05*

When culture was defined with items representative of the so-called 'Olympian' culture, item No. 13, 'culture represented by history,' had a response of 'strongly disagree' given by instructor B. The instructor had a less favorable response than the students, as they reported a mean response of 3.357 for item No. 13. A related question,

item No. 17, 'culture represented by government and politics' received a 'neutral' response by instructor B. The students' average response was 'disagree' ($M = 2.642$).

Two items that were grouped together were items No. 20 and 22, 'culture is represented by the media' and 'culture is represented by famous persons', had a 'disagree' response from instructor B. Students average responses were not so low. For item No. 20 students had a mean response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.356$). In the case of item No. 22, the response was lower, 'disagree', in agreement with the instructor's response ($M = 2.785$) but with a tendency towards 'neutral'.

Items No. 23 and 24 addressed the status of Spanish in the heritage speakers' communities. They read respectively 'Spanish has a good status in the state' and 'Spanish has a good status in their community'. Instructor B was negative on both items, with the same answer for both: 'disagree'. Her students chose 'neutral' for these items: item No. 23 $M = 3.642$ and item No. 24 $M = 3.428$. In this class, neither the students nor the instructor felt positive about the status of Spanish in their communities.

The items that addressed questions of cultural identity, considered in research question 3.a, were re-visited and the instructor's response was included in order to see any correspondence between the instructor and the students' opinions. Seven items were considered in this sub-group (See Appendix A for the full format):

- Item 26: 'Like belonging to more than one culture'
- Item 28: 'Cannot learn a language without culture'
- Item 29: 'Instructor thinks that one cannot learn a language without learning culture'
- Item 30: 'Vital to learn about culture to learn language'

- Item 31: ‘Language and culture are inseparable’
- Item 41: ‘I think American and Spanish cultures are very different’
- Item 46: ‘Learning about culture is as important as grammar’

Each item was compared to instructor B’s responses. The students mean responses were compared to the instructors using a T-test.

Item No. 26 showed a very similar case to that of Instructor A and her students. Instructor B answered ‘strongly agree’ and the mean response of the students was very close to it, ‘agree’ ($M = 4.571$). Item No. 29 in the students’ instrument was compared to the instructor’s questionnaire item No. 28: ‘Cannot learn a language without culture’. The instructor’s choice was ‘strongly agree’. The students’ average response was ‘neutral’ leaning towards ‘agree’ ($M = 3.857$). Lastly, item No 41 was not found to be different among the subjects. The students’ average reply was ‘agree’ ($M = 4.214$) and the instructor’s response was also ‘agree’.

The items 28, 30, 31, and 46 are grouped together due to their shared theme of inquiring about the students’ opinions on the language-culture duality. All these items showed a difference of opinions between instructor B and her students. In these four items, the students had an average response of ‘neutral’ while instructor B responded ‘strongly agree’ for all of these items. The mean responses for each item in the students’ questionnaire were:

- Item 28: $M = 3.785$.
- Item 30: $M = 3.642$
- Item 31: $M = 3.285$
- Item 41: $M = 3.714$

Item No. 40, 'My instructor thinks that American and Spanish cultures are very different', was compared with the response of instructor's questionnaire item No. 41 'I think American and Spanish cultures are very different'. The instructor's response 'agree' was higher than the students' average response 'neutral' ($M = 3.714$) but the tendency is clearly towards 'agree' among the students.

Item No. 53, 'I use Spanish every chance I get' was compared to item No. 76 in the instructor's instrument, 'I think some students are embarrassed of their Spanish'. Instructor B responded 'agree', and just as they did in item No. 40, the students' average response was 'neutral' with a marked tendency towards 'agree' ($M = 3.714$).

Correlations were done on the overall data of the students regarding culture definitions and the students' assessment of their instructors' views on language and culture. The items that showed a defined correlation were three pairs. Firstly, item No. 16, 'culture represented by the way people interact' and item No. 42 'I agree with my instructor on culture', $r = .523, p = .004$. Secondly, item No. 15, 'culture is represented by values and attitudes' and items No. 42, for a $r = .438, p = .017$, Lastly, item No. 15 again, with item No. 43, 'I respect my instructors opinions and thoughts', $r = .413, p = .026$.

Frequencies and descriptive statistics were run on all the items in question 4.a that had not been previously examined in earlier sections of the study (See Table 4.14). The responses were treated as a single group, since the instructors responses were not being considered, there was no need to separate their students' answers. The items that are presented in this section for descriptive statistics and frequencies are:

Item 29: ‘Instructor thinks that one cannot learn a language without learning culture’

Item 40: ‘My instructor thinks that American and Spanish cultures are very different’

Item 42: ‘I agree with my instructor on culture’

Item 43: ‘I respect my instructors’ opinions and thoughts’

Item 43 got the highest mean answer ‘agree’ and there were no ‘strongly disagree’ answers.

Table 4.14

Descriptive statistics for items 29, 40, 42, and 43 among HSTS

Items in instrument	Mean	Standard deviation	Sample size
Instructor thinks that one cannot learn a language without learning culture	4.069	0.923	29
My instructor thinks that American and Spanish cultures are very different	3.896	0.859	29
I agree with my instructor on culture	3.724	0.959	29
I respect my instructors’ opinions and thoughts	4.448	0.869	29

Research question 4.b. Is syllabus design significant in the understanding of culture by the students? There were nine items considered for this research question.

These items were present in the students' as well as the instructors' instruments. They were:

Item 32: 'Want more Spanish language culture in class'

Item 33: 'Satisfied with the amount of culture in class'

Item 34: 'Talk about culture in every class'

Item 35: 'Did not expect to talk about culture so often in class'

Item 36: 'Too much time talking about culture in class'

Item 37: 'Culture is tested in class work'

Item 39: 'Because of this class, I think about the differences and similarities between the cultures'

Item 47: 'Spend too much time doing grammar in this course'

Item 48: 'More grammar presentation in this course'

These items were designed with the following on mind: the students' expectations and opinions on what constitutes a language class for heritage speakers.

Item No. 32 was the only item that received a 'neutral' answer from instructor A. Equally, the students had an average response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.777$) with a tendency towards 'agree'. Items No. 33, 34, 37, and 39 were all rated 'strongly agree' by instructor A. Those items are closely related and they show the degree of consistency in the instructor's self-assessment of her classroom dynamics and syllabus. The students had similar responses (See Table 4.15) for all items but one, item No. 39 had a different response, 'neutral', among the students.

Table 4.15

T-test of Students and Instructor A's Description of syllabus design regarding culture.

Items in instrument	Test value = 5				
	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M Difference</i>
Satisfied with the amount of culture in class	-2.874	8	.021	4.111	-0.888
Talk about culture in every class	-3.162	8	.013	4.444	-0.555
Culture is tested in class work	-2.530	8	.035	4.555	-0.444
Because of this class, I think about the differences and similarities between the cultures	-3.506	8	.008	3.555	-1.444

Note. * $p < .05$

Items No. 35, 36, and 48 were also grouped together in this part of the analysis on the basis of having the same instructor A's response, 'disagree'. Item No. 35 had a different response among the students with an average of 'neutral' leaning towards 'agree' ($M = 3.555$). Items 36 and 48 had the same average responses of 'disagree' (Item 36 $M = 2.444$, item 48 $M = 2.777$). In the case of item 48, 'More grammar presentation in this course', the students' average showed a tendency towards a 'neutral' response.

Instructor B's responses were also compared to those of her students. Item No. 39 was the only one that had an 'agree' response from instructor B. This answer was echoed in her students and had an average response of 'agree' ($M = 4.071$). Items 32, 34, and 37

were grouped together for the presentation of results, in consideration to the common answer given by instructor B, 'strongly agree'. For item 32, the students mean response was 'neutral' ($M = 3.642$), item 34 had an average response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.642$); and item 37 showed another 'agree' choice ($M = 4.285$). The last three items for this research question were also included in the same group because of the answer given by instructor B. Items 33, 35 and 46 were given a 'strongly disagree' answer by instructor B. The students' response for the same items were more diverse. Item 33 had an average response of 'agree' ($M = 4.071$), item 35 had a mean response of 'disagree' ($M = 2.857$) which was closer to instructor B answer, and item 36 had an average response among the students of 'disagree' ($M = 2.285$).

When a correlations test was conducted on the way students responded to the ten items (Items 13-22 that addressed possible definitions of culture), and items 34, 25, 26, 27, 47, and 48, a few correlations were identified. Item 16 'culture is represented by the way people interact' had a correlation with items 32, 34, 37, and 47. The results were for each correlation:

Item 16 and item 32, $r = .429$, $p = .020$

Item 16 and item 34, $r = .407$, $p = .028$

Item 16 and item 37, $r = .415$, $p = .415$

Item 16 and item 47, $r = -.428$, $p = .021$

The correlation for items 16 and 47 was negative because item 47 was formulated in negative terms, 'too much time on grammar in this course'.

The second item that showed correlations was item No 21, 'culture is represented by the fine arts'. Those who agreed with that item also agreed with the following items:

Item 21 and item 34, $r = .363$, $p = .053$

Item 21 and item 47, $r = -.461$, $p = .012$

The correlation for items 21 and 47 was negative due to the negative wording of item 47.

Research question 4.c. Do students enjoy the presentation of culture in the textbook? One item was common in both, the students and the instructors' instruments, item No. 45, 'I like the presentation of culture in the text book'. The T-test results showed a discrepancy between the students and instructors responses. Instructor A's answer was 'strongly agree' and the students average response was 'neutral' ($M = 3.333$). Instructor B's answer was 'strongly disagree' and her students coincided with the students of instructor A. The instructor B class had an average response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.500$).

Frequencies were run on two items that referred to the significance of the textbook among the students. The items were No. 44 and 45, the former was 'The book contains relevant cultural information'. These two were present only in student A questionnaire. The data reported for these items was not sub-divided into two groups, as was the case for research questions 4.a and 4.b. This was unnecessary as the instructors answers were not being considered for this part of the data analysis, therefore; the students responses can be treated as those of a single group. Item No. 44 had a mean response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.482$) with a $SD = 0.1.298$, indicating that there was a wide range of variation among the students' responses. Item No. 45 also had a mean response of 'neutral' ($M = 3.413$) and the $SD = 1.086$, also indicative of a wide range of responses. The answer that got the highest concentration of answers for item No. 45 was 'agree'.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

The primary objective of this study was to isolate and understand the role of culture, if any, as a significant factor in pursuing studies in Spanish among the undergraduate population of heritage speakers of Spanish at FAU's Boca Raton campus. Secondly, it was important to conduct a survey study that would allow for consideration of factors other than culture involved in the decision to take a heritage language course. Identification of some of the variables present in a heritage speaker's decision to study his/her heritage language can prove invaluable when designing steps to increase the number of heritage students enrolled in heritage language classes. Thirdly, given the exploratory nature of the research in this study, an attempt was made to build a general profile of the student body of heritage speakers at FAU. Finally, language instructors as well as one of the most salient teaching tools, the textbook, were included when constructing a profile of the realities of heritage speakers of Spanish at FAU. Ultimately, these findings could be taken into consideration during periodic evaluations of FAU's heritage language program, as well as bring some insight into language instructors' development.

This chapter takes the data elicited from 61 volunteers, which included 59 heritage speakers of Spanish and the two language instructors who teach heritage language courses at the Boca Raton campus. The summaries for each research question will be interjected with a discussion of the findings as they are presented. The limitations

of the study will be presented, leading to recommendations for further research. Finally, the implications for theory and instruction, together with conclusions, will complete this chapter.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 1

The results for the analysis of the main question “What difference is there between heritage speakers of Spanish (HSSP, which includes HSSA and HSS) and heritage students of Spanish (HSTS) with regards to their opinions on culture and the Spanish language?” showed that there was only one significant difference among heritage speakers of Spanish’s views of culture, namely the item on ‘culture represented by history’. The heritage speakers of Spanish in ALAS, the HSSA group, (as well as the non-equally represented group of HSS -non-affiliated heritage speakers of Spanish) indicated an ‘agree’ response, while the heritage students of Spanish, the HSTS group, had a mean response of ‘neutral’. This difference in responses will be explored further in the analysis of results. The difference is not only significant in statistical terms but it may serve as an indication of the concept of culture that is prevalent among the subjects in each group.

In research question 1.a, “Is culture defined in the same terms by different groups of heritage speakers of Spanish?”, the range of mean responses for each of the ten items (See items 13 -22 in appendix A) among the HSTS members indicated that the heritage speakers of Spanish taking the language course found certain items unreflective of their views on culture, such as ‘culture represented by government and politics’ and ‘culture represented by famous persons’, with both items scoring somewhere between ‘neutral’ and ‘disagree’. This was also true for the HSS group, who selected four items in the

questionnaire as predominantly 'neutral' or 'disagree' when defining culture. These items were: 'culture in reference to famous persons', 'the media', 'leisure time activities', and 'government and politics'. This last item of government and politics was the one that received the lowest mean response among most participating groups, with an overall mean among all heritage speakers of 2.85, indicative of a tendency to 'neutral' or lower. Lastly, the HSSA subjects never had a mean lower than 'neutral' for any of the items related to culture. The lowest mean response was 3.08, slightly above 'neutral'; this response referred to culture and famous persons.

Among the items that received the highest means were: culture as customs, traditions and holidays and culture as values and attitudes. These two items ranged in mean answers between 'agree' and 'strongly agree' among all three groups. The heritage students who were enrolled in a Spanish course (HSTS) chose customs, traditions, and holidays as the item with which they agreed most strongly. The HSSA students, the only non-enrolled group who had a significant sample to compare to HSTS, chose values and attitudes as the option with which they agreed most strongly.

Regarding question 1.b, "Does a person's perception of the status of the Spanish language influence their intention to further their knowledge of it?", about the status of the Spanish language in their communities and in Florida, all groups replied that Spanish had a good status, with both items showing a mean answer of 3.68, indicating a response closer to 'agree' than 'neutral'. The responses to these items suggest that there were no significant differences between groups. Among the two items that looked at language in their community and in the state, more subjects felt that Spanish had a good status in their state over the status in their communities. More subjects responded 'neutral' to the

knowledge; therefore arts and literature among others, are considered as the preferred representations of a society's culture. In the two groups that had an active involvement with their heritage language (HSTS and HSSA), the item that presented culture as fine arts was ranked fifth among ten items. The students that were potentially not as active as the others in cultivating their heritage language indicated that culture as fine arts was their second choice, much higher than the other participants. There are many factors in these participants' lives to allow the researcher to isolate the possible reasons for this peculiar response. One hypothesis could be that, as heritage speakers get more involved in different aspects related to language and culture, they develop a more nuanced understanding of culture. They arrive at the conclusion that culture is not contained in museums or libraries, but, rather, it is created and re-created in their daily interactions with other heritage speakers.

When participants were asked about the status of Spanish, the responses were similar among all three groups, indicating that heritage speakers have an overall positive perception of the status of Spanish in the state and their communities. Students of Spanish (HSTS) had a lower mean when asked about their own communities, in comparison to their responses about the status of Spanish in the state. This is not explained by possible influence of the language instructors on the students' opinions, as one had a 'neutral' response and the other had a 'strongly agree' response to these items. On the other hand, while there is no discernible influence of the instructors' opinions, it is possible that the topic was discussed in class, with most students reaching a more informed discussion than that of heritage speakers of Spanish that were not enrolled in language classes.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 2

The results for the research question 2 “Is there a difference in background between heritage speakers of Spanish and heritage students of Spanish?” were shown with a Chi-square analysis. It indicated that the item “Languages spoken by your friends (list in order of predominance)” was the only significant difference ($p = .086$) between HSTS and HSSA subjects. The HSSA group indicated having no monolingual friends in contrast to the HSTS subjects who had a significant number of English speaking only friends. Higher levels of bilingualism among friends were also reported in the much smaller group of HSS subjects. The results for the HSTS group indicated that eight subjects, 26.667% of the sample population, had friends who spoke only English and only three (10%) of the subjects had Spanish monolingual friends. Both groups (HSTS and HSSA) reported having more friends who were Spanish-English speakers, with Spanish being the dominant language for said friends.

The variable of gender (nominative in nature) was not found to be a significant difference, and neither were the remaining items for research question 2 (See appendices A and B, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 63); consequently, ‘major’ was proven a non-significant variable among HSTS and HSSA. Business was the predominant major among all subjects, and psychology was second among both groups. The least-mentioned major was Spanish, with only one subject in the HSTS group identifying it as her major. Criminal Justice and Communication were equally represented with 5.085% of subjects.

The data for the remainder of the items in research question 2 were combined in the results section, due to the lack of significant differences among groups (HSTS and

HSSA). The items coded as 'language spoken by parents', 'languages heard at home', 'languages spoken by extended family', 'languages you understand', and 'languages you speak' showed no significant difference among the HSTS and HSSA groups. Among the HSSA subjects, there was a lack of monolingual friends. HSSA subjects, as mentioned above, also reported having no parents who were English monolinguals, with all of the parents speaking either Spanish, Spanish and English, or Spanish, English, and another language. The HSTS subjects showed a presence of English monolingual parents, distinguishing them from both HSSA and HSS subjects. More HSTS subjects reported growing up in a predominant English household than did the HSSA subjects. In general, and unlike the HSTS group, the HSSA subjects had no English monolingual parents or friends.

The three items for research question 2 that were present only in student A questionnaire (items 3, 10 and 11 in Appendix A) were reported with descriptive statistics as well as frequencies. Two items inquired about the place the subjects grew up and where they live now. A significant amount of HSTS subjects grew up in South America (18.5%) and the largest percentage of the subjects came from the Northeast (37%). These three items were not present among HSSA and HSS subjects; therefore, it is not possible to compare the results. Currently, all of the heritage speakers of Spanish live in South Florida full time, a region known for its high degree of multiculturalism and multilinguality (US Census Bureau). The last item the subjects were polled on was the name of their instructors. This was collected in case there was a need for statistical analysis within this group. It was a precautionary question that was ultimately not considered for the analysis of this research question.

Research question 2.a “What is the importance of friends and family in pursuing the study of Spanish?” had one item in common to both students’ instruments. An analysis of variance indicated that there was no significant difference between the two groups. The item, “my family in general encourages me to study Spanish” was most often answered as ‘neutral’, with 30.5% of the responses. When combined, the positive items ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ accounted for almost half the answers, with 49% of the responses.

The items that were not part of both student questionnaires were 50, 51 and 61. Items 50 and 51 were present only in the instrument for the HSTS subjects and inquired about their family and friends’ feedback on their linguistic skills. Item 50 was data coded ‘my family noticed a change in my Spanish because of my studies in Spanish’ and 51 was coded ‘my friends noticed a change in my Spanish because of my studies in Spanish’. Both items had the largest concentration of ‘neutral’ followed by ‘agree’ answers and ‘strongly agree’ as secondary choices. Item 61 ‘My family thinks that American and Spanish cultures are very different’ had the largest concentration of ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’ answers with 76.666%, and only two subjects responded ‘completely disagree’. There were no reported ‘disagree’ answers.

Finally, research question 2.b, “How important are past experiences in the language classroom in predicting HSSP’s intentions to continue studying Spanish?”, had one group that yielded significant results; HSSA subjects had a high degree of satisfaction with their high school experience. After running descriptive statistics and ANOVA on data items 56, 57, and 58, it was clear that HSSA subjects had a much higher degree of satisfaction with their language experiences at the high school level. The

subjects (HSSA and HSTS) showed a high degree of consistency through their responses to these three items: 'took Spanish in high school', 'happy I took Spanish in high school', and 'influential earlier educational experience'. HSSA and HSTS subjects both indicated a high percentage of 'agree' or 'strongly agree' to all three items. Over three quarters (76.3%) of all subjects took at least one course of Spanish in high school. All subjects reported that past classroom experiences were not significant predictors of their intentions to continue studying Spanish; HSSA subjects had the equivalent of a 'neutral' response, as did the HSTS subjects. The HSTS subjects departed from the HSSA subjects on the issue of satisfaction with their Spanish course(s) in high school. HSSA subjects reported a mean answer of 'strongly agree' and HSTS subjects chose a response between 'agree' and 'neutral'.

Item 59 was in the HSSA instrument only, and it was coded 'because of high-school experience I decided not to study more Spanish'. Half of the HSSA subjects responded 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree', and five subjects (16.666%) responded 'strongly agree' to this item.

Discussion of findings for research question 2. Research question 2 revealed indicators potentially related to the relatively low registration rates at FAU of heritage speakers of Spanish in Spanish classes (See table 3.2). Those enrolled in Spanish classes (HSTS) had more parents who only spoke English than any of the other participating groups. Similarly, HSTS volunteers had many more friends who were English monolinguals (HSSA had only one and HSS reported none). Finally, HSTS participants also reported having many more English-Spanish bilingual friends than the remaining two groups. These data might be indicators that those who enroll in Spanish classes are

not just looking to expand their Spanish knowledge, but to re-connect and re-establish links with the community of their heritage language. It is possible that these heritage students might have not considered these ties to be as strong as those who are also heritage speakers of Spanish but are not enrolled in Spanish courses. This disparity in background can be explained through recontact, as treated by Lynch (2000). Recontact applies to those heritage speakers who later in life establish or reestablish strong links to their heritage culture and language, and seek further development of their own linguistic skills.

The HSSA subjects reported having no monolingual English speaking parents, the parents were bilingual or Spanish speaking monolinguals. Only two volunteers had friends who spoke English and Spanish (one quarter of the total given by the HSTS students), the rest of their friends were monolingual speakers or if bilingual, They were Spanish dominant. It is possible that heritage speakers of Spanish who participate in ALAS already see themselves as functioning bilinguals, capable of meaningful interaction in either language (English or Spanish). Since membership in ALAS involves acknowledging a Hispanic heritage, studying Spanish might be seen as a step that might jeopardize or lower their status in their student organization. Another of the many possibilities is that most members of ALAS indeed have a good mastery of Spanish and its culture and history. Comments like these were found among the HSSA subjects, who were asked about their Spanish skills:

“They are high. Excellent”

“My Spanish is excellent”

“I think I have excellent Spanish skills and I am one [sic] that is better than most of my close friends”

“Excellent”

“I think that my Spanish is good. I usually correct people.”

“My pronunciation is not better than my grammar. They are probably equal. I hold my Spanish speaking abilities in high esteem. My Spanish is good and formal, but not too formal.”

In research question 2.a, the HSTS participants reported noticing no significant reaction from their families and friends with respect to the assumed improvement of language skills. This might be due to the time the test was administered, in the first half of the semester, not enough time for changes and additions to become part of the students' speech. Also at work is the fact that the nature of the relationships they had before taking Spanish for heritage speakers has not changed. Therefore, these heritage speakers continue to use their casual dialects in long-ago assumed roles within their communities. Changing to the more standard dialect they are using in the classroom and in their class work is simply not justified among their existing relationships and might be perceived by their peers and family members as a sign of snobbery.

Research question 2.b points toward a significant trend: those who took Spanish in high school and were happy with their educational experience but decided not to take Spanish at the university level. Therefore, the HSTS volunteers had a lower mean of having taken Spanish, as well as a lower satisfaction rate, than the means for HSSA and HSS. The often reported mistreatment of heritage speakers in the classroom (Cho & Krashen, 1998; Feliciano, 1981; Kono & McGinnis 2001; Krashen 1988b; Lacorte &

Canabal, 2005; Lynch, 2003; Martinez, 2005) did not surface in this research. On the contrary, one of the reasons heritage speakers stayed away from Spanish courses at the university level was due to their high sense of achievement from their high school experience. Interestingly, the HSTS volunteers had a lower sense of satisfaction with their high school experience pertaining to Spanish. Instead of keeping them from taking any more Spanish courses, they took these courses at the university level. Their determination was not deterred by negative past experiences, but instead was reinforced. The high degree of high school satisfaction reported by the HSSA subjects, paired with the high degree of confidence in their linguistic skills in the heritage language, can be interpreted as a significant reason for HSSA speakers not to take Spanish for heritage speakers.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 3

Question 3, “What is the role of cultural identity in increasing the enrollment of HSSP in heritage courses?”, observed the possible connection between cultural identity among heritage speakers of Spanish and their likelihood to take Spanish courses at the university level. Research questions 3.a and 3.b focused on different aspects of this question. There were no significant findings for either of these questions between the subject groups, consequently there were mainly descriptive values to report on research question 3.

Research question 3.a, “Do heritage speakers of Spanish see a connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups?” had four groups of items and none of them had significant results. The first group dealt with membership to more than one cultural group (items 25 and 26 in Appendix A and items 25, 26, and 60 in

appendix B). Most subjects had a strong response to this matter. Most subjects chose 'agree' or 'strongly agree' (91.5%) to 'I like belonging to more than one culture'. When the statement narrowed down which cultures the students meant, the mean decreased somewhat, with 83.1% choosing 'agree' or 'strongly agree' to 'belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American'. The second group addressed interdependence of language and culture (See items 28, 30, 31, and 46 in appendices A and B). It was tested for internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .786$). HSTS subjects had a moderately higher mean ($M = 3.775$) than the HSSA group ($M = 3.664$). The items that got the highest and lowest response respectively, 'it is vital to learn about culture to learn about language' and 'language and culture are inseparable', were expected to be highly correlated, and they were.

The third part of this research question was about the subjects' introspection regarding their dual cultural membership (items 27 and 38 in appendices A and B). Most subjects (86.4%) started with a good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture, while 77.6% responded 'agree' or 'strongly agree' to pondering the similarities and differences between American and Spanish-speaking cultures. The fourth aspect of this research question dealt with the contrasts drawn between the American and Spanish-speaking cultures (item # 41 in Student questionnaires A and B). There were no significant differences in mean responses across groups and most subjects chose a mean response equivalent to 'agree'. Very little variation was observed for this item. The responses given to the matter of a possible connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups indicated that the participating heritage speakers generally see themselves as bicultural bilinguals. These responses indicate that heritage

speakers see a distinction between language and culture. Unfortunately, there is only sufficient data to state that students agree with the idea that culture and language are different from each other, yet there is not enough data to know if they also think that, despite their differences, culture and language are mutually dependent and inseparable.

Research question 3.b was only present in student A questionnaire (See appendix A), and it asked the students to rank their reasons to take a course for heritage speakers of Spanish. Evidence of an instrumental motivation was seen in the item most often ranked No. 1, 'to improve my professional opportunities' (item # A62_2). The item 'access to media' (item # A62_5) got the lowest ranking. In the responses for these sub-research questions, we find a difference of priorities for students and instructors. In her syllabus, one instructor stated that it was her main objective to familiarize the students with formal varieties of Spanish. For the learners, acquiring a more standard or formal dialect is not that important; only one third of the students chose it as one of their reasons to take a Spanish class.

Research question 3.c was part of student B questionnaire only (See appendix B), and it asked the subjects to rank their reasons not to take Spanish courses at FAU. The item chosen most often was "I don't like the Spanish language" (B62_4) with over nine out of ten students choosing this item as their response. The second and fourth choices also indicated discontent with either Spanish or experience in the Spanish language classroom: "I have taken Spanish courses here and did not like the experience" (B62_14) and "I didn't like the Spanish courses I took in high school" (B62_7). The reason chosen least often was significant; it was 'I am happy with what I know' (B62_1), with a high

standard deviation value ($SD = 1.709$) indicative of the wide range of responses for this item. The mean answer for this sentence was 'neutral' ($M = 3.000$).

None of the 13 choices given to the HSSA subjects had a 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' mean response, in some degree or another, all items were found as having a significant role in not wanting to study Spanish. Only two items had a response that did not have a mean above 'agree', 'too much grammar, too formal, and 'I am happy with what I know'. The students had a chance to write their own reason for not taking Spanish courses; none of them wrote an additional reason.

Discussion of findings for research question 3. Research question 3.a did not yield the significant differences expected among the participating groups. The distinctions observed were minimal and not opposed to one another, but slightly larger or smaller than the other groups' data. The HSTS subjects were expected to have a high level of understanding of the known connection between language and culture. HSTS participants were also expected to have a high degree of introspection about their multi-cultural membership. The data partially supported these results and also pointed to similar, unexpected, results among the heritage speakers who were not enrolled in Spanish for heritage speakers. Interestingly, the percentage of heritage speakers who thought that it was vital to learn about culture to learn about language dropped when the item was 'language and culture are inseparable' (item 31).

According to Robinson-Stuart & Nocon (1996b), students tend to understand language separately from the speakers of that language (part of our working definition of culture is that the speakers of a language are vessels of ethnographic culture). Robinson-Stuart & Nocon explain that this separation of language and speakers is due to the chosen

teaching approach; and so, it is directly influenced by the instructor. Both language instructors participating in this research expressed strong feelings about these questions, indicating that language and culture cannot be learned in isolation from each other; they also agreed that language and culture cannot be separated from each other. This belief held by the language instructors might have influenced the HSTS responses, thus, explaining the slightly higher mean responses in that group (HSTS) who were asked about those same items in the instrument. It would be possible that further in the semester the means would have been higher due to a more prolonged exposure to the views of their language instructors.

Nocon (1995) presents the other side of this argument of language and the people who embody it. While language learners may adopt the accepted views on language and culture the instructors have as symbiotic in nature, instructors must make efforts to help students avoid the idea that adopting a language will automatically bring upon the speaker the prejudices associated with the language. Nocon shows that language learners can separate the target language and its speakers, as is the case of Spanish in border areas in the U.S. While Nocon's research was done on English speaking students taking Spanish as a second language, he demonstrated that the students had positive attitudes of distant groups of Spanish speakers, but this positive attitude quickly disappeared when asked about Mexican and Mexican-American speakers of Spanish. Nocon illustrates that students can and do separate people from perceptions, at least in some cases. This finding can be applied for heritage speakers and potential reservations they may have about reinforcing their membership in a group that is not widely seen favorably.

Research question 3.b provided us with a ranking of the reasons most representative of heritage speakers' reasons to take Spanish at the university level. Their main motivation seems to be of an instrumental nature: to improve their employment opportunities. On the other hand, the second reason chosen could be seen as indicative of intrinsic or integrative motivation: communication while in the native country.

The least-chosen reason to enroll in Spanish for heritage speakers was to have more access to media in Spanish. This can be understood by looking at the general content of the local media in Spanish South Florida. In the case of television, the programming tends to be aimed at entertaining, not educating, the viewers. Many of the participants in the daily programming in television communicate in informal dialects of Spanish, making it unnecessary for their audience (presumably the heritage speakers of Spanish at FAU) to gain another dialect of Spanish. Regarding the programs produced in Spanish-speaking countries, the ones aired in South Florida tend to be contests or soap operas, both characterized by avoidance of formal dialects. It would be interesting to break up this question into TV, radio (oral format) and newspapers (written format), as the results might vary due to different formats. Newspapers might tend to be more formal in their choice of dialect than TV or radio.

The HSSA subjects said that their main reason not to study Spanish was because they did not like Spanish. This response demands careful consideration. This same group reported awareness of belonging to both the Spanish and American cultures, as well as liking such memberships. More significantly, this group reported high degrees of satisfaction with their linguistic skills in Spanish (See *Discussion of findings for research question 2*). The subjects in the ALAS group had a mean slightly above neutral when it

came to the items that aimed at getting the students' opinions about the link between language and culture. The means in the reported connection between bilingualism and membership to multiple cultural groups among HSSA and HSTS are not markedly significant, yet they indicate a trend towards the affirmation of a connection between bilingualism and membership in multiple cultural groups, as table 4.8 shows.

Table 4.8

Descriptive Statistics for Whether Heritage Speakers of Spanish See a Connection between Bilingualism and Membership to Multiple Cultural Groups

Items in Instrument	Mean			Standard deviation			Sample size		
	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS	HSTS	HSSA	HSS
Belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American	4.069	4.384	4.500	0.961	0.897	0.577	29	26	4
Like belonging to more than one culture	4.620	4.461	4.500	0.621	0.859	1.000	29	26	4
Language-culture-fusion (items 28, 30, 31, 46)	3.775	3.634	3.375	0.897	0.925	1.163	29	26	4
Good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture	4.275	4.423	4.750	0.751	0.808	0.500	29	26	4
Because of bilingualism, I contrast the two cultures	4.137	3.961	4	1.029	0.999	0	29	26	4
I think American and Spanish cultures are very different	4.103	4.076	4	0.9	0.934	0.816	29	26	4

That response proves significant when looking at the matter of not liking Spanish: the less the heritage speakers are involved in activities that explore linguistic and cultural aspects of their heritage culture and language, the less likely they are to see the connection between language and culture. Ideally, discussions about multicultural identity and bilingualism are easier to come by in a language classroom, perhaps more likely to happen than for those heritage speakers who are only members of a social network of Spanish or those not involved in any Spanish-related activities at all. Nonetheless, this does not imply that those attending ALAS meetings are not exploring their language and culture and discussing the connections.

Another question arises when trying to reconcile the answers about disliking Spanish and feeling happy about their knowledge of Spanish. A possibility that would explain why so many responded to not liking Spanish, while at the same time affirming their satisfaction with their knowledge of Spanish, is that many of them feel very happy with their level of Spanish, due not to the high degree of linguistic skills but to a lack of interest in developing them. If they are not interested in polishing what they know, they may consider their knowledge sufficient and appropriate, despite not liking Spanish. This reasoning may explain these responses among HSSA subjects:

“My Spanish is good, not perfect but just good enough to be understood”

“Spanish language abilities are mediocres [sic]. It is OK. Depending on whom I am speaking to”

“My Spanish is good enough. I speak better than I write”

These responses remind us that it is also important to consider the students’ goals for their heritage language. The HSSA students stated a high degree of satisfaction with

their high school experience. This does not necessarily mean that they have mastered the formal aspects of Spanish; it could mean that the students felt they knew enough for the purposes they had in using their Spanish. The reason least chosen for not taking Spanish courses at the university level was indeed being content with what they knew, indicating that the high school experience was not the reason they decided not to take Spanish. The students felt they had an incomplete command of their heritage language, but they were fine with it, as they continued to reinforce their cultural ties with their heritage culture. This is consistent with their general idea of a disconnect between language and culture as presented in the discussion of the interdependence of language and culture in research question 3.a.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 4

This question explored the role of culture in the language classroom: how is culture understood and represented in the language classroom?" This fourth and final question applied to those in the HSTS group, as they were the only ones in the population sample who were currently in a language class for heritage speakers. Research question 4.a looked at a possible correlation between the instructor's and students' opinions on language and culture. The next question, 4.b, examined the role of syllabus design in the students' conception of culture. Finally, item 4.c surveyed the participants about the likeability of the textbook when culture was the subject matter.

Research question 4.a, "Is there a correlation between the instructor's opinions and the students' views on language and culture?", had 21 items from student questionnaire A and the instructors' questionnaire (items 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 31, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 53 in appendix A). The responses were

divided into two groups, corresponding to the students and their instructor: A or B. The data were analyzed with t-tests, correlations and frequencies.

In the data for instructor's A group, it was interesting to note that when culture was plainly defined in its more familiar form corresponding to that of hearthstone culture ('culture is represented by customs, traditions, holidays') the instructor strongly agreed with the statement. When the implications of that statement were presented, 'culture is represented by the way people interact', 'culture is represented by values and attitudes', and 'culture is represented by daily life', the instructor had a 'neutral' response. The students disagreed with these responses given by the instructor and had higher means (See table 4.12). The instructor indicated a closer affinity to items that defined culture in "Olympian" terms, 'culture represented by history', and 'culture represented by the fine arts', unlike her students, who did not feel as positive about these items as the instructor did (her response was 'agree').

The items that referred to cultural identity (items 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 41, and 46, see Appendix A) indicated that the students can accurately identify instructor's A perspectives on language and culture. The answers indicate that they not only know their instructor's opinions, but they also agree (See item 40 for the students in research question 4.a).

The data for instructor B showed the profile of an instructor keener to anthropological definitions of culture than her colleague. She agreed with items 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 21 of the instructors instrument (see Appendix C). Instructor B was not as upbeat about the status of Spanish in the state and community as was instructor A; this

had no bearing on her students' perspectives on the same item, for they chose 'neutral' to 'agree' answers.

Regarding cultural identity, instructor B had 'strongly agree' responses to items 26, 28, 30, 31, 41, and 46. Her students had more varied responses. Instructor B's responses indicate that she is more in tune with this researcher's working definition of culture as stated in chapter 2.

Research question 4.b, "Is syllabus design significant in the understanding of culture by the students?" referred to the course design. The researcher assumed that this syllabus was the direct reflection of each instructor's views on a language and culture in the heritage language classroom. Nine items were included in the students' questionnaire (32, 33, 43, 35, 36, 37, 39, 47, and 48 in appendix A). The results indicated that, in the case of instructor A, the students tended to agree with her. The only exception was item 39, 'because of this class, I think about the differences and similarities between the cultures'. Instructor A strongly agreed with the item, while students felt 'neutral' about it. Instructor B's class agreed with her on most of these items, including item 39.

Correlations were established between items that defined culture and items related to the significance of the syllabus. Those students who saw culture in more anthropological terms ('culture is represented by the way people interact') tended to agree with items that indicated their willingness to discuss more about culture in class (items 32, 34, and 37, see Appendix A). On the other hand, those who agreed with a more Olympian perspective of culture, 'culture is represented by the fine arts', just agreed, just as did the ones leaning to an anthropological definition of culture, with item 37 (see Appendix A), indicative of their desire to explore more about their heritage culture. The

difference between those who prefer one definition of culture over the other (hearthstone vs. Olympian) is that the last group only agreed with one item (37) which indicated willingness to have more cultural dialogue in class.

Lastly, research question 4.c inquired about the role of the textbook in the heritage language classroom (“Do students enjoy the presentation of culture in the textbook?). All HSTS subjects had a mean response of ‘neutral’. Each group had different textbooks, but they all felt equally neutral about it. On the other hand, instructor A was very satisfied with the presentation of culture in the textbook (‘strongly agree’), while instructor B was very unhappy with the textbook (‘strongly disagree’). Students might not be too concerned with the significance of the textbook as a source of cultural knowledge. They were not reliant on the book as their primary source of cultural information. When asked “Do you like the book you use in class? Why? N/A”, some of them wrote:

“No”

“Not really. It doesn’t seem like we really follow it”

“It is okay but it doesn’t have a lot on culture”

“No”

“Yes, but I think it needs to add on more culture, not just history, but that would require more recent findings for each country!”

“I don’t really use it”

Discussion of findings for research question 4.

This question in general provided us with a better profile of the students, as well as the instructors, involved in the heritage classroom. One of the main findings was that

students can accurately discern what their instructors' views on language and culture are, and they are not necessarily swayed by those opinions when formulating their own. The role of the syllabus was observed to be reflective of the instructor's views, which were somewhat influential on the students' perspectives on language and culture. The textbook was proven ancillary in the learning process. Its significance was very much dependent on the role the instructor bestowed on the textbook.

Overall, most HSTS respect their instructors' opinions and thoughts and tend to agree with the instructors' definitions of culture, but only as a trend. The students' responses are not necessarily in line with those of their instructors; yet, if the instructor responded 'strongly agree' to an item, the students were not far behind with responses that typically ranged one point down in the scale (in this case, it would be 'agree'). This is very telling, as it corroborates findings in research question 4.a about a correlation between the students' and instructors' thoughts on language and culture. Generally, students' definitions of culture, as presented in this study, had been presented before (Chavez, 2002) with one difference: the students in the present study no longer have history as their big definition of culture, as was the case in Chavez.

The results of research question 4.b, regarding the role of syllabus design, pointed to a significant disparity between the students' and instructor A's responses regarding their degrees of introspection about the differences and similarities between the cultures (item 39 in Appendix A). Instructor A reported that due to the heritage class she pondered about the similarities and differences between the cultures. Instructor A's students reported that they do not. It is possible that her considerations on the cultural similarities and differences did not translate into discussions, presentations, or tasks that

were designed to be concrete enough for the students to latch onto. After initiating a meaningful dialogue, students would be better prepared to commence their own critical observation of their multicultural membership. If the discussion were presented in terms that were simply too concrete or too abstract, the students might not be able to relate to the arguments of the discussions and dismissed them altogether.

A perspective that would be beneficial in the approaches to teaching heritage speakers, and language teaching in general, was put forth by Pao et al. (1997). They reject dichotomous approaches in favor of multidimensional models of thought and communication. Pao et al. reject the dichotomous schemes (Black or White, Asian or Black, etc.) as tools of marginalization of those students of mixed origin, who may be Black *and* White *and* Asian. Pao et al. prefer a multidimensional model that would “allow an individual to have simultaneous membership on multiple communities and multiple, fluid identities with different groups” (p. 624).

Another source to consider when revising the approaches to teaching heritage students is found in some of the work done within cognitive linguistics. Basically, cognitive linguistics claims that we think in metaphors and certain metaphors are reflected in our speech (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Being introduced to this perspective would allow the heritage students to adopt a more nuanced, richer perspective on language, culture and mind. This background in cognitive linguistics might better prepare students to understand the shared experiences we have as human beings and how we express and interpret those experiences in different manners. Experientialism (a concept introduced by Lakoff & Johnson) posits that metaphor is how we conceptualize our world, the world is mediated by the interpreter; therefore, our experience has influence in

how we interpret and categorize information. Due to this inclusion of experience in the study of languages, we find that while all languages can express concepts in different ways, these ways are to a great extent based on our shared bodily experiences and our experience of our environment. For example, the choices to express the category of future can be coded in a variety of ways which are determined by our experience and our shared human perceptual system. This perspective sums up the idea that cultures, while different at times, are all reflections of our shared human condition. No one culture is better, or more logical.

Finally, research question 4.c looked at the significance of the textbook as a vehicle for cultural exploration. In Fall 07, there were two textbooks in use, and while the books have different approaches to teaching, they showed no evidence of influence on how the teacher taught the class. The textbooks were not found to have any significance in the overall dynamics of the class. In general, students were not satisfied with the textbook used in Instructor B's class; some of them felt it was outdated as well as too grammar-driven:

“I wish it was newer and a little bit more modern”

“Too much grammar”

“Too much grammar”

The significance or lack thereof it, brings forth the importance of the language instructor as the main determiner of how relevant the textbook is in a class. The instructor also determines what aspects of the books will be used and how the information presented by the textbook will be affirmed, complemented, or rebutted, in class.

As a last observation, instructors gave many more polar responses, i.e. their responses were either 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree', much more often than the students, who, for the most part, preferred to stay within more conciliatory responses: 'agree', 'neutral', and 'disagree'.

Limitations of the Study

Some of the limitations of this study have been pointed out during the presentation and discussion of results, namely: number of participating subjects (sample size), instrument size and comprehensiveness, data collection procedures (some subjects were met at their convenience, outside of a classroom or organization setting). In this more detailed presentation, other limitations are brought up.

Sample size. The easier group to engage in participation was the HSTS, as they were already attending classes and the instructors generously agreed to give up some of their class time for the researcher's work. The volunteers that participated in the ALAS group were comparatively harder to recruit, as the researcher needed to attend repeated sessions to get a number of participants equivalent to the data collected in the HSTS group. Finally, the HSS group was composed of a sample so small, it was impossible to have comparable results; only trends were reported. This is most unfortunate and might be due in part to the fact that there were no visible or immediate benefits perceived for participating in the study. The HSTS subjects were not offered any rewards, but it is possible that they assume that participation would be advisable, as their language instructor remained in the classroom during completion of the instrument. It would be helpful to come up with ways to distribute this instrument university-wide (perhaps at the time of registration), including a link towards an on-line instrument designed for heritage

speakers, to compile a more complete and accurate set of data. A possible incentive for completion of this on-line instrument would have to be significant enough to encourage people to respond, perhaps a tiny percentile discount in their fees for the semester. The idea of a discount can be more powerful than the actual amount of the discount.

Instrument. The questionnaires used in this research did not include enough background information to draw a complete picture of the demographic makeup of heritage Spanish speakers at FAU. Other studies (Beaudrie, 2006; Duisberg, 2001) have devoted at least two entire pages to questions about the heritage speaker background and current use of their heritage language, and, even then, it might have not been sufficient, as “it would have been useful to collect even more demographic information on students” (Duisberg, 2001, p. 181). The total number for pages of the instruments for this research was three pages; therefore, heritage speaker background was secondary to the main questions in this research: the role of culture in deciding to study their language among heritage speakers of Spanish. It would be better to divide the instruments, one for background information, and another for data gathering about the matter being studied among heritage speakers. Unfortunately, during the process of trial of the instrument, participants refused to respond to anything that seemed too lengthy or that involved more than one session. Increasing the instrument size might have a negative impact on sample size. Also, most subjects felt more comfortable responding to Liker-style items. Some complained about open-ended questions in the instrument as they felt like “work” for them.

Siskin, Knowles & Davis (1996) and their study on survey methodology proves that the instrument will shape the answers given by the subjects. This was also true for

the instruments in this research, as Likert-scale items can be very limiting in the range of responses available to the subjects. The subjects were given the opportunity to put their thoughts in their own words, but, with the exception of the HSTS groups, most heritage speakers left those answers blank.

Data collection. The settings for data collection were not always optimal, as some subjects had to be met on campus, but not in the same circumstances as the large majority was when responding to the instruments. Therefore aspects such as noise level, light, privacy etc, might have been identical for those who took the instruments together in one room, be it the classroom or ALAS meetings. Perhaps putting the instrument on-line would be detrimental in this aspect, as the researcher would have little control over the setting, distractions, lighting, seating, etc, which are all possible factors in the resulting data and the accuracy or degree of comprehensiveness in the responses of the subjects.

Scope of this study. Given the survey nature of the study, the scope was broad, since a survey's main purpose is to assess, take an instant picture of how things are, rather than how they should or could be. One of the drawbacks of this survey was that, in its goal to cover as much as possible in the limited space of a three-page instrument, some topics were not treated with the depth needed to arrive at more informed and generalizable conclusions. Generalizability of the findings is a concern; the sample population is not necessarily an accurate sample of the composition of the ethnic diversity present in South Florida. By the same token, South Florida is not necessarily a typical representation of the status of Hispanics in the rest of the country, especially when compared to the Southwest.

Recommendations for Future Study

Depending on the type of study, longitudinal or cross-sectional, different recommendations are given:

Longitudinal studies aim at following the subjects for a period of time, with several measurements (instances of data collection). They can have an experimental nature with more than one assessment deployed to measure changes in the subjects' opinions, thoughts or knowledge; these studies can also be non-experimental in nature. In a longitudinal study with heritage speakers at FAU the following quests are possible:

1. Study of heritage students of Spanish and their interactions in the classroom among themselves, with their instructor, or with ancillary materials brought to the classroom.
2. Assessment of heritage students' opinions on their own linguistic growth during the semester.
3. Assessment of heritage speakers of Spanish's expectations for a course for heritage speakers and whether these expectations were met, either because they were addressed during the course or because such expectations were re-considered and re-stated due to instructors guidance, once enrolled in a heritage class.
4. A study of heritage speakers of Spanish while at FAU and then once in the job market, to evaluate if they regret, or not, having taken Spanish for heritage speakers.
5. Study of students' use of a specific linguistic skill at the beginning and end of the semester.

6. Study of the definition of culture among elite bilinguals (those who acquired a language as a second language) and heritage bilinguals (those who were not schooled in one of their languages).
7. Study of different approaches for promoting existing courses for Spanish speakers. Many Heritage speakers not enrolled in Spanish courses were not aware of courses already offered in the department of Languages, Linguistics, and Comparative Literature. When presented with a list of courses, they responded that they would take some of those courses, if available. They did not know that they were already being offered. Different approaches can be tested for effectiveness in bringing these courses to their attention. The study would measure enrollment levels before and after each approach is deployed.

In a cross-sectional study, data from different groups is collected one time and compared. The possibilities are numerous:

1. Assessment of heritage students' opinions on the tests during the semester.
2. Study of the reasons instructors give for high/low enrollment in heritage classes.
3. Study of heritage students of Spanish and their interactions in the classroom among themselves, with their instructor, or with ancillary materials brought to the classroom.
4. Assessment of heritage students' opinions on the testing conducted during the semester.
5. Assessment of heritage students' opinions on their own linguistic skills at the end of the semester.

6. A study of heritage speakers of Spanish's understanding of diversity and difference after taking a heritage language course.

Implications for Theory and Instruction

There have been effective works describing the profile of heritage speakers of Spanish in the recent literature (Carreira, 2003; Valdés, 1997, 2001). But these tend to speak about the majority of heritage speakers in the United States, composed of at least 50% of speakers of Mexican descent. South Florida presents a situation that is unlike any in the rest of the country, with a history of Spanish speakers (Cubans) who initially bestowed a certain degree of prestige on the language (Carreira, 2003; Roca 1990). Heritage speakers of this region have two different realities to reconcile, one is presented in the national media as a general mass of Spanish speakers who are uneducated, undocumented and a threat to the employment of others (The National Council of La Raza [NCLR], n.d.). The other is the much richer reality in which they live in South Florida, with Spanish speakers as their professors, doctors, lawyers, as well as Spanish speakers who have careers that might not enjoy as much social prestige. This study advances the notion that there is no precise delineation of the demographic makeup of Hispanics in America without the equally careful delineation of the specific demographics of individuals, wherever Hispanics are concentrated throughout the country.

Proper identification of heritage speakers is also in need of revision, as some of the measures of the current system employed at FAU do not distinguish spelling errors and dialect variation from actual lack of linguistic skill in the target language. This happens because all language students are tested with a computer generated instrument

that accepts a limited set of possible answers; the range of responses does not necessarily take into consideration the register, dialect or oral skills of the students; only their written answers are accepted, and they must fit into a pre-arranged set of possible answers.

Fairclough (2006) reached a similar conclusion regarding proper placement in courses for heritage speakers, in his study at the University of Houston, where due to minor mistakes in their responses heritage speakers were misidentified as beginners instead of heritage speakers. While this computer-generated test is not the only method for identification of heritage speakers at FAU, it is the most commonly and widely used. Better interaction among different programs could help identify heritage speakers. For example, it would not be that challenging for an instructor of Italian to identify speakers of Spanish in her class; a referral for a brief oral interview with an instructor in the Spanish program would quickly determine if the speaker is a Spanish speaker. The present study points at the need for a more overarching approach in identifying heritage speakers. Since there is a university-wide language requirement, these heritage speakers are bound to appear either in Spanish or another language class. If the language instructors in general are educated on what to look for among heritage speakers of Spanish, French, Italian, etc., they will be better prepared to help students with their linguistic needs.

The motivations to study their heritage language among heritage speakers at FAU are varied, but the tendency is to have more instrumental motivations over the integrative options. This needs to be taken into account when designing syllabi as well as further research, since these considerations shape the contents that will be most beneficial for these students. This study proposes that it would be unfair to the students to allow the instructors to have a romanticized idea of the students' motivations to study their heritage

language (it is not to get closer to their culture but to get a better job). Acceptance of the reigning motivations should have a direct effect on syllabus design. In a related matter, one of the most salient needs underscored by this research is the urgency in reconciling the students' needs with the instructors' objectives (research question 3.b). Students seemingly have different objectives than some of the ones stated by their instructors, and there are two obvious courses of action. The language instructors could reassess their syllabi and adapt them to the needs of the students, or the instructor could redirect the students' perceptions of what they need. One approach does not negate the other; Tse (1998) proves that mere enrollment in a heritage language class, regardless of original motivation, results in heritage students developing stronger ties to their heritage community. These are ties that might have not been there before they took the heritage language course; thus, integrative motivations might be the end result of a heritage language class.

Based on some of the instructors' responses as well as the students' expectations, it is imperative that those teaching heritage speakers are qualified to do so. Potowski (2005) and Potowski and Carreira (2004) are excellent sources for clear and soundly based guidelines for teacher development. During this study, the needs of heritage speakers vs. second language learners are shown to be different from each other. There needs to be different approaches, depending on the type of learner. Some have compared the case of heritage speakers to that of speakers of African American Vernacular English, which is linguistically equal to any other dialect of English, yet students can sometimes be mistreated or corrected for utterances that are not incorrect. A background in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, with special emphasis on dialectal variation, on

the part of language instructors and section chairs can enable them to design an approach that is consistent with current and proven theories and methodologies for heritage speakers. At the very least, instructors must attend workshops on how to best serve this area of the community. Another favorable development for language instructors would be to present them with opportunities for improvement, perhaps by suggesting a list of basic studies published. Those studies will better inform the instructors on what to look for and how to impart their knowledge and experience in a way that is most advantageous for the heritage learners.

Conclusions

The main purpose of this study was to examine the significance that a person's understanding of culture and its potential connection to language has on the decision to formally study one's heritage language. This study shows that the decision for heritage students to continue formal study of Spanish is influenced by factors that are ever-present in their lives, such as monolingual parents. Draper & Hicks (2000) talk to the issue of students' attitudes and expectations in a heritage course, and they conclude that the closer to their culture the students feel, the more likely they are to enroll in a heritage class. Efforts to increase the level of interest in these heritage courses should not just be aimed then at the heritage speakers but also at those who contribute to their definition of self, such as family and friends. Carreira and Armengol (2001) conclude that, as heritage language communities are made aware of the potential economic advantages of preserving and polishing their linguistic skills in their HL, these minorities will have a stronger motivation to encourage their offspring, and themselves, to continue their education in the HL. All of these factors are constitutive of the heritage speaker's own

culture. Efforts to help heritage speakers see their culture under a more positive light should and must be explored.

Chavez (2002) expands the discussion to point out that students bring their conceptions of language learning and culture from high school, which leaves the instructor at the college /university level the task of making the necessary adjustments that would be more cohesive with the current understanding of culture in language and language in culture, without removing the aspects of language/culture learning that motivated the students to continue their linguistic studies. Based on the research presented here, students seem to be receptive to adopt the views of the teacher, text, and language program with which they are in contact. This fact is a hopeful one; as more language departments adopt a perspective informed by anthropologically grounded research on language/cultural teaching, soon the exhausted dyad of language *and* culture could be abandoned in favor of culture *is* language and language *is* culture.

Appendix A

Student A Questionnaire

- Name: e-mail: phone number:
63. Age: 1. Gender: 2. Major: 3. Instructor:
4. Languages spoken by parents: 5. Languages heard at home:
6. Languages spoken by extended family:
7. Languages spoken by your friends (list in order of predominance):
8. Languages you understand: 9. Languages you speak:
10. City and State where you grew up: 11. City and state where you live now:
12. Do you participate in the Association of Latin American Students (ALAS) at FAU:

Please circle the number that best represents your opinion on the following statements:

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. I think that culture is best represented by history | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, Holidays. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. I think that culture is best represented by values and attitudes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. I think that culture is best represented by the way people interact | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. I think that culture is best represented by government and politics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. I think that culture is best represented by daily life (food, clothing, etc) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. I think that culture is best represented by leisure time activities (sports, hobbies) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. I think that culture is best represented by the media (music, TV, radio, print) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. I think that culture is best represented by the fine arts (literature, poetry, painting) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. I think that culture is best represented by famous persons | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in the state | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in my community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

A-1

	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 neutral	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
25. I think I belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American	1	2	3	4	5
26. I like belonging to more than one culture	1	2	3	4	5
27. I think that I have a good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture	1	2	3	4	5
28. I think one cannot learn language without learning about culture	1	2	3	4	5
29. My instructor thinks one cannot learn language without learning culture	1	2	3	4	5
30. I think that it is vital to learn about culture in order to learn a language	1	2	3	4	5
31. I think that culture and language are impossible to separate from Each other.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I want to have more Spanish language culture integrated into class.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I am satisfied with the amount of culture I am learning in this class.	1	2	3	4	5
34. We talk about culture in every class	1	2	3	4	5
35. I did not expect to talk about culture so often in this class	1	2	3	4	5
36. I think we spend too much time talking about culture in this class	1	2	3	4	5
37. Culture is tested in our class work (tests, essays, projects)	1	2	3	4	5
38. Because I speak two languages, I think about the differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5
39. Because of this class, I think more often about differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
40. My instructor thinks American culture is very different from Spanish-speaking cultures	1	2	3	4	5
41. I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with	1	2	3	4	5
42. In general, I agree with my instructor's opinions on culture	1	2	3	4	5
43. In general, I respect my instructor's opinions and thoughts.	1	2	3	4	5
44. The book gives me cultural information that is relevant to me	1	2	3	4	5
45. I like how culture is presented in this book	1	2	3	4	5
46. Learning about culture is as important as learning about grammar	1	2	3	4	5
47. I think we spend too much time doing grammar in this course	1	2	3	4	5
48. I think we need to spend more time doing grammar in this course.	1	2	3	4	5
49. My family in general encourages me to take Spanish courses	1	2	3	4	5
50. I think that my family noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes in Spanish I have taken at the university	1	2	3	4	5

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

51. I think that my friends noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes in Spanish I have taken at the university 1 2 3 4 5

52. I think that speaking more than one language is a big benefit for myself. 1 2 3 4 5

53. I try to use Spanish in every opportunity I get 1 2 3 4 5

54. I am embarrassed to speak Spanish in front of strangers 1 2 3 4 5

55. I can speak Spanish, but only with my family 1 2 3 4 5

56. I took Spanish courses in high school 1 2 3 4 5

57. In general, I am happy I took Spanish courses in high school 1 2 3 4 5

58. Have past experiences in Spanish courses at FAU influenced your desire to continue studying Spanish? 1 2 3 4 5

62. What are your reasons for taking this Spanish course? Please assign a number according to importance: 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number.

62_1___ To better communicate with my family

62_2___ To improve my professional opportunities.

62_3___ To feel closer to my culture.

62_4___ To be able to communicate well when I visit a Spanish speaking country.

62_5___ To watch and listen to Spanish TV, magazines, radio, newspapers, etc.

62_6___ To feel better about my Spanish.

62_7___ To understand my Spanish heritage.

62_8___ To expand on my knowledge of Spanish history and culture.

62_9___ To meet people with backgrounds similar to mine.

62_10___ To gain a more standard dialect of Spanish, mine is too informal.

62_11___ Other: _____

63. How did you hear about this course for heritage speakers of Spanish?

64. Is knowing more than one language a factor when picking a course at FAU? Why? Why not?

65. In your own words, why are you studying Spanish? How have past experiences in courses motivated you (or not) to study Spanish?

66. How would you define culture? What elements would you add to the ones mentioned above?

67. What do you expect to learn about culture in this Spanish language class?

68. What aspects of culture would you be most interested in learning about in a Spanish language class?

69. Do you like the book you use in class? Why? N/A

70. Is your instructor helping you feel better about your Spanish skills? How?

Appendix B

Student B Questionnaire

Name: e-mail: phone number:

63. Age: 1. Gender: 2. Major:

4. Languages spoken by parents: 5. Languages heard at home:

6. Languages spoken by extended family:

7. Languages spoken by your friends (list in order of predominance):

8. Languages you understand: 9. Languages you speak:

12. Do you participate in the Association of Latin American Students (ALAS) at FAU:

Please circle the number that best represents your opinion on the following statements:

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

13. I think that culture is best represented by history 1 2 3 4 5

14. I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, Holidays. 1 2 3 4 5

15. I think that culture is best represented by values and attitudes 1 2 3 4 5

16. I think that culture is best represented by the way people interact 1 2 3 4 5

17. I think that culture is best represented by government and politics 1 2 3 4 5

18. I think that culture is best represented by daily life (food, clothing, etc) 1 2 3 4 5

19. I think that culture is best represented by leisure time activities (sports, hobbies) 1 2 3 4 5

20. I think that culture is best represented by the media (music, TV, radio, print) 1 2 3 4 5

21. I think that culture is best represented by the fine arts (literature, poetry, painting) 1 2 3 4 5

22. I think that culture is best represented by famous persons 1 2 3 4 5

23. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in the state 1 2 3 4 5

24. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in my community 1 2 3 4 5

60. I think I belong to more than one culture 1 2 3 4 5

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

B-1

26. I like belonging to more than one culture	1	2	3	4	5
28. I think one cannot learn language without learning about culture	1	2	3	4	5
30. I think that it is vital to learn about culture in order to learn a language	1	2	3	4	5
31. I think that culture and language are impossible to separate from Each other.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Learning about culture is as important as learning about grammar	1	2	3	4	5
38. Because I speak two languages, I think about the differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5
41. I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with	1	2	3	4	5
61. My family thinks that American culture is very different from the . Spanish-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I think I belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I think that I have a good understanding of the Spanish-speaking Culture.	1	2	3	4	5
49. My family in general encourages me to take Spanish courses	1	2	3	4	5
52. I think that speaking more than one language is a big benefit for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
53. I try to use Spanish in every opportunity I get.	1	2	3	4	5
54. I am embarrassed to speak Spanish in front of strangers	1	2	3	4	5
55. I can speak Spanish, but only with my family	1	2	3	4	5
56. I took Spanish courses in high school	1	2	3	4	5
57. In general, I am happy I took Spanish courses in high school	1	2	3	4	5
59. Because of my experience with Spanish courses in high school, I decided not to study it anymore.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Have past experiences in Spanish courses at FAU influenced your desire to continue studying Spanish?	1	2	3	4	5

62. What are your reasons for not taking Spanish for heritage speakers at this University? Please assign a number according to importance: 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number.

- 62_1. ____ I don't need to learn any more Spanish, I am very happy with my level of knowledge.
- 62_2 ____ I don't need Spanish in my professional life.
- 62_3 ____ I don't need Spanish in my personal life.
- 62_4 ____ I don't like the Spanish language.
- 62_5 ____ I don't want to be associated with negative stereotypes related to Spanish speakers.
- 62_6 ____ I'd rather learn another language, with more prestige, like French or Japanese.
- 62_7 ____ I didn't like the Spanish courses I took in High school.
- 62_8 ____ I did not like my Spanish instructor in High school
- 62_9 ____ In previous Spanish courses, I have been made to feel bad about my dialect of Spanish.
- 62_10 ____ I don't think I can learn, I am not good with languages.
- 62_11 ____ None of my friends are taking heritage courses.

62_12____ I am not interested.

62_13____ I don't like the formal way of teaching language, with so much grammar.

62_14____ I have taken Spanish courses here and did not like the experience

2. Have you heard about the heritage courses offered on campus? If yes, how? Has and instructor, friend, or advisor mentioned these courses?

3. How would you define your culture? What elements would you add to the ones mentioned above?

4. What would you like to do in an ideal heritage language class? What percentage on grammar? How much on culture? How much on History? How much on correction? How much on expansion of general knowledge? What other aspects of language would you like to explore?

5. What do you think about your Spanish language abilities? Do you think your Spanish is good, excellent, very casual, very formal? Etc...Do you think that aspects of your Spanish are better than others? for example, do you think that your pronunciation is better than your grammar? Vice-versa?

6. Have you seen Spanish courses for heritage speakers advertised on Campus? If yes, what did you notice about them?

7. Which of the following courses would you be most interested in taking? Assign a number from 1 to 5: 1 Most interested, 5 least interested.

- _____ Business Spanish
- _____ Latin American culture
- _____ Latin America Today
- _____ Caribbean and Latin American perspectives on the US
- _____ Spanish to English translation
- _____ Latin American History
- _____ Iberian History
- _____ Spanish for public purposes (radio, public speeches, etc)
- _____ Composition for Heritage Speakers
- _____ Legal Spanish
- _____ OTHER _____

20. I am satisfied with the amount of culture I am teaching in this class. 1 2 3 4 5
21. We talk about culture in every class 1 2 3 4 5
22. I did not expect to talk about culture so often in this class 1 2 3 4 5
23. I think we spend too much time talking about culture in this class 1 2 3 4 5
24. Culture is tested in our class work (tests, essays, projects) 1 2 3 4 5
25. Because of working with heritage speakers, I think more often about differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking cultures. 1 2 3 4 5
26. I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with 1 2 3 4 5
27. I am an important source of cultural knowledge for the students 1 2 3 4 5
28. Talking about culture is as important as talking about grammar 1 2 3 4 5
29. Culture is as important as grammar in a Spanish course. 1 2 3 4 5
30. I am an important source of grammatical knowledge for the students 1 2 3 4 5
31. I think we need to spend more time doing grammar in this course 1 2 3 4 5
32. I picked the book we use in this course 1 2 3 4 5
33. I selected this book based on its presentation of grammar 1 2 3 4 5
34. I am pretty happy with the book we use 1 2 3 4 5
35. I like how culture is presented in this book 1 2 3 4 5
36. I rely on the book for structure of the syllabus 1 2 3 4 5
37. I use the textbook in every class 1 2 3 4 5
38. I use many (more than five) sources (web sites, newspapers, etc) For my class activities. 1 2 3 4 5
39. I build on the books ideas, I don't see the need to correct or Contradict the book. 1 2 3 4 5
40. I think some of my students are embarrassed of their Spanish Dialect. 1 2 3 4 5
41. I am helping students by providing them with a more standard Spanish dialect. 1 2 3 4 5
42. I think their non-standard dialects are not a significant helping their Professional life, they need a standard dialect. 1 2 3 4 5
43. Students need to be corrected constantly; they have spent too much Time using the wrong grammar 1 2 3 4 5
44. Students need to be corrected constantly; they have spent too much Time using the wrong pronunciation. 1 2 3 4 5
45. Students need to be corrected constantly; they have spent too much Time using the wrong vocabulary 1 2 3 4 5

1. What role does culture have in your class planning? Is it addressed to your satisfaction?

7. Do you incorporate students' feedback on what they would like to see in the course into your syllabus? If so, to what extent? What determines the inclusion of students' suggestions into the syllabus?

8. How would you characterize the Department's ideology on language teaching, and how does it influence your stance on teaching?

9. Please fill in the blanks:

a) I think that _____ is the most important aspect of language my students need to learn: vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, spelling, culture.

b) I understand the following dialects of Spanish:

Examples: Casual Cuban Spanish, formal Cuban Spanish, casual Mexican Spanish, formal Mexican Spanish, etc.

_____, _____, _____
_____, _____, _____
_____, _____.

c) I use the following dialect(s) of Spanish when I teach my students:

Examples: Casual Cuban Spanish, formal Cuban Spanish, casual Mexican Spanish, formal Mexican Spanish, etc.

_____, _____, _____
_____, _____, _____
_____, _____.

Appendix D

Questionnaire instructions:

I am Carolina M. Seiden, a PhD candidate here at Florida Atlantic University. I am collecting data for my research which is focused on culture and heritage speakers. There are absolutely no right or wrong answers and your identity will not be published in the results of this research or anywhere else in my work. Please respond honestly, as only this can guarantee the success of this investigation.

Thank you.

Appendix E

CONSENT FORM

1) Title of Research Study: Learning from our students: The role of culture in Spanish heritage students' enrollment in undergraduate Spanish classes.

2) Investigator: Dr. Martha Mendoza, Carolina M Seiden.

3) Purpose: The purpose of this research study is to gain insight into the Spanish speaking heritage students' perspectives on studying Spanish, culture, and its place and significance in language learning

4) Procedures:

Participation in this study will require the students to complete a questionnaire that should take about 20 minutes to complete. The subjects in this study will be asked to answer a number of questions about culture and language. After all of the questions are completed, the subjects will return the completed instruments.

Alternative Procedures: Instructors will be given a week to complete a questionnaire different from the one taken by their students.

5) Risks:

The risks involved with participation in this study are no more than one would experience in regular daily activities.

6) Benefits:

Potential benefits that subjects may attain from participation in this research study include a greater understanding Heritage speakers needs; the role of culture, and the satisfaction of knowing that they have contributed to a better understanding of cultural, and linguistic studies in university students in South Florida.

7) Data Collection & Storage:

All of the results will be kept confidential and secure and only the people working with the study will see your data, unless required by law.

8) Contact Information:

*For related problems or questions regarding your rights as a subject, the Division of Research of Florida Atlantic University can be contacted at (561) 297-0777. For other questions about the study, you should call the principal investigators, Dr Martha Mendoza at (561)297.1090 and Carolina M Seiden at (954) 410.3996.

9) Consent Statement:

*I have read or had read to me the preceding information describing this study. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am 18 years of age or older and freely consent to participate. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at

any time without penalty. I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature of Subject: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____

Appendix F

Student A Questionnaire

Name: e-mail: phone number: Age:
Gender: Major: Instructor: Languages spoken by parents:
Languages heard at home: Languages spoken by extended family:
Languages spoken by your friends (list in order of predominance):
Languages you understand: Languages you speak:
City and State where you grew up: City and state where you live now:
Do you participate in the Association of Latin American Students (ALAS) at FAU:

Please circle the number that best represents your opinion on the following statements:

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. I think that culture is best represented by history | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, holidays | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. I think that culture is best represented by values and attitudes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. I think that culture is best represented by the way people interact | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. I think that culture is best represented by government and politics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. I think that culture is best represented by daily life (food, clothing, etc) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. I think that culture is best represented by leisure time activities (sports, hobbies) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. I think that culture is best represented by the media (music, TV, radio, print) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. I think that culture is best represented by the fine arts (literature, poetry, painting) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. I think that culture is best represented by famous persons | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in the state | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in my community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. I think I belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
- 1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree**

26. I like belonging to more than one culture	1	2	3	4	5
27. I think that I have a good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture	1	2	3	4	5
28. I think one cannot learn language without learning about culture	1	2	3	4	5
29. My instructor thinks one cannot learn language without learning culture	1	2	3	4	5
30. I think that it is vital to learn about culture in order to learn a language	1	2	3	4	5
31. I think that culture and language are impossible to separate from each other	1	2	3	4	5
32. I want to have more Spanish language culture integrated into class	1	2	3	4	5
33. I am satisfied with the amount of culture I am learning in this class.	1	2	3	4	5
34. We talk about culture in every class	1	2	3	4	5
35. I did not expect to talk about culture so often in this class	1	2	3	4	5
36. I think we spend too much time talking about culture in this class	1	2	3	4	5
37. Culture is tested in our class work (tests, essays, projects)	1	2	3	4	5
38. Because I speak two languages, I think about the differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5
39. Because of this class, I think more often about differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
40. My instructor thinks American culture is very different from Spanish-speaking cultures	1	2	3	4	5
41. I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with	1	2	3	4	5
42. In general, I agree with my instructor's opinions on culture	1	2	3	4	5
43. In general, I respect my instructor's opinions and thoughts.	1	2	3	4	5
44. The book gives me cultural information that is relevant to me	1	2	3	4	5
45. I like how culture is presented in this book	1	2	3	4	5
46. Learning about culture is as important as learning about grammar	1	2	3	4	5
47. I think we spend too much time doing grammar in this course	1	2	3	4	5
48. I think we need to spend more time doing grammar in this course.	1	2	3	4	5
49. My family in general encourages me to take Spanish courses	1	2	3	4	5
50. I think that my family noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes in Spanish I have taken at the university	1	2	3	4	5
51. I think that my friends noticed a change in my Spanish skills because of the classes in Spanish I have taken at the university	1	2	3	4	5

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52. I think that speaking more than one language is a big benefit for myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 53. I try to use Spanish in every opportunity I get | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 54. I am embarrassed to speak Spanish in front of strangers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 55. I can speak Spanish, but only with my family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 56. I took Spanish courses in high school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. In general, I am happy I took Spanish courses in high school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. Have past experiences in Spanish courses at FAU influenced your desire to continue studying Spanish? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

1. What are your reasons for taking this Spanish course? Please assign a number according to importance: 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number.

- To better communicate with my family
- To improve my professional opportunities.
- To feel closer to my culture.
- To be able to communicate well when I visit a Spanish speaking country.
- To watch and listen to Spanish TV, magazines, radio, newspapers, etc.
- To feel better about my Spanish.
- To understand my Spanish heritage.
- To expand on my knowledge of Spanish history and culture.
- To meet people with backgrounds similar to mine.
- To gain a more standard dialect of Spanish, mine is too informal.
- Other: _____

2. How did you hear about this course for heritage speakers of Spanish?

3. Is knowing more than one language a factor when picking a course at FAU? Why? Why not?

4. In your own words, why are you studying Spanish? How have past experiences in courses motivated you (or not) to study Spanish?

5. How would you define culture? What elements would you add to the ones mentioned above?

Appendix G

Student B questionnaire

Name: e-mail: phone number: Age:
Gender: Major: Languages spoken by parents:
Languages heard at home: Languages spoken by extended family:
Languages spoken by your friends (list in order of predominance):
Languages you understand: Languages you speak:
Do you participate in the Association of Latin America Students (ALAS) at FAU:

Please circle the number that best represents your opinion on the following statements:

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

1. I think that culture is best represented by history 1 2 3 4 5
2. I think that culture is best represented by customs, traditions, holidays 1 2 3 4 5
3. I think that culture is best represented by values and attitudes 1 2 3 4 5
4. I think that culture is best represented by the way people interact 1 2 3 4 5
5. I think that culture is best represented by government and politics 1 2 3 4 5
6. I think that culture is best represented by daily life (food, clothing, etc) 1 2 3 4 5
7. I think that culture is best represented by leisure time activities
(sports, hobbies) 1 2 3 4 5
8. I think that culture is best represented by the media (music, TV,
radio, print) 1 2 3 4 5
9. I think that culture is best represented by the fine arts (literature,
poetry, painting) 1 2 3 4 5
10. I think that culture is best represented by famous persons 1 2 3 4 5
11. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in the state 1 2 3 4 5
12. I think that the Spanish language has a good status in my community 1 2 3 4 5
13. I think I belong to more than one culture 1 2 3 4 5
14. I like belonging to more than one culture 1 2 3 4 5

1 strongly agree 2 agree 3 neutral 4 disagree 5 strongly disagree

15. I think one cannot learn language without learning about culture 1 2 3 4 5

16. I think that it is vital to learn about culture in order to learn a language 1 2 3 4 5

17. I think that culture and language are impossible to separate from each other 1 2 3 4 5

18. Learning about culture is as important as learning about grammar 1 2 3 4 5

19. Because I speak two languages, I think about the differences and similarities between my own culture and Spanish-speaking culture. 1 2 3 4 5

20. I think American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture I grew up with 1 2 3 4 5

21. My family thinks that American culture is very different from the Spanish-speaking culture. 1 2 3 4 5

22. I think I belong to more than one culture, Spanish and American 1 2 3 4 5

23. I think that I have a good understanding of the Spanish speaking culture 1 2 3 4 5

24. My family in general encourages me to take Spanish courses 1 2 3 4 5

25. I think that speaking more than one language is a big benefit for myself. 1 2 3 4 5

26. I try to use Spanish in every opportunity I get 1 2 3 4 5

27. I am embarrassed to speak Spanish in front of strangers 1 2 3 4 5

28. I can speak Spanish, but only with my family 1 2 3 4 5

29. I took Spanish courses in high school 1 2 3 4 5

30. In general, I am happy I took Spanish courses in high school 1 2 3 4 5

31. Because of my experience with Spanish course in high school, I decided not to study it anymore 1 2 3 4 5

32. Have past experiences in Spanish courses at FAU influenced your desire to continue studying Spanish? 1 2 3 4 5

1. What are your reasons for not taking Spanish for heritage speakers at this University? Please assign a number according to importance: 1 for most important, 5 for least important. It is fine to have more than one reason be a number 1 or any other number.

___ I don't need to learn any more Spanish, I am very happy with my level of knowledge.

___ I don't need Spanish in my professional life.

___ I don't need Spanish in my personal life.

___ I don't like the Spanish language.

___ I don't want to be associated with negative stereotypes related to Spanish speakers.

___ I'd rather learn another language, with more prestige, like French or Japanese.

___ I didn't like the Spanish courses I took in High school.

___ I did not like my Spanish instructor in High school

___ In previous Spanish courses, I have been made to feel bad about my dialect of Spanish.

___ I don't think I can learn, I am not good with languages.

___ None of my friends are taking heritage courses.

___ I am not interested.

___ I don't like the formal way of teaching language, with so much grammar.

___ I have taken Spanish courses here and did not like the experience

2. Have you heard about the heritage courses offered on campus? If yes, how? Has and instructor, friend, or advisor mentioned these courses?

3. How would you define your culture? What elements would you add to the ones mentioned above?

4. What would you like to do in an ideal heritage language class? What percentage on grammar? How much on culture? How much on History? How much on correction? How much on expansion of general knowledge? What other aspects of language would you like to explore?

5. What do you think about your Spanish language abilities? Do you think your Spanish is good, excellent, very casual, very formal? Etc...Do you think that aspects of your Spanish are better than others? for example, do you think that your pronunciation is better than your grammar? Vice-versa?

6. Have you seen Spanish courses for heritage speakers advertised on Campus? If yes, what did you notice about them?

7. Which of the following courses would you be most interested in taking? Assign a number from 1 to 5: 1 Most interested, 5 least interested.

- _____ Business Spanish
- _____ Latin American culture
- _____ Latin America Today
- _____ Caribbean and Latin American perspectives on the US
- _____ Spanish to English translation
- _____ Latin American History
- _____ Iberian History
- _____ Spanish for public purposes (radio, public speeches, etc)
- _____ Composition for Heritage Speakers
- _____ Legal Spanish
- _____ OTHER _____

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